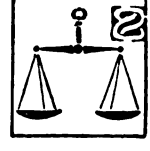
SOCIALISM: PROMISE *or* MENACE?

A Debate between
MORRIS HILLQUIT
and
JOHN AUGUSTINE RYAN, D.D.

EDITOR'S NOTE



HERE begins one of the most distinguished series of articles ever published in this—or any other—magazine: A joint debate upon the right or wrong of Socialism.

The opposition to this world-wide movement comes not only from those who have qualified themselves to speak, but also from many who are ill-equipped with information to justify their attacks. Moreover, such criticisms are usually addressed to audiences already in sympathy with them.

Socialism, too, has its half-equipped apostles. And Socialist arguments are offered, for the most part, to people already attached to the cause.

The importance of this series is twofold: For the first time, the opposing arguments are to be presented with the highest competence, *and side by side*, in a form available for the immediate comparison of arguments.

Our readers will be interested in the personnel of the authors and the circumstances that have brought them into debate.

The comment that "the Catholic Church is the chief bulwark against Socialism" is familiar to many, in and outside the Church. For a long time this Church has warred against Socialism; but during the past few years its campaign has become more general and systematic, and is now the most highly organized attack on Socialist doctrines.

Yet it was a long step to that point where, at the request of EVERYBODY'S, men distinguished in the Church councils finally assented to an open discussion of the subject in the pages of a secular magazine. Naturally, it would be out of the question to ask of the Church or of the Socialists that they should formally choose an *authoritative* representative. This would be staking the cause on one spokesman, who would inevitably fail of perfection.

The unique thing is that there could have been even an approach to authority in the guidance which EVERYBODY'S has received in the choice of opponents. Men eminent in both these world-wide groups have lent their good-will, shared in the selection,

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and welcomed the conflict as one certain to be of the utmost value.

Now as to the authors themselves. The attack on Socialism will be made by John Augustine Ryan, D.D., for the past twelve years Professor of Moral Theology and Economics at St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota. Dr. Ryan was born in Minnesota, received his early education there, studied theology in St. Paul, and continued post-graduate studies at the University of Washington, D. C. He was ordained a priest in 1898, and eight years later was made a Doctor of Divinity. He is the author of "A Living Wage," one of the standard works in its own department of economics, and his writings and lectures have given him national position as a leader of progressive thought in industrial, economic, and social fields.

Socialism will be defended by Morris Hillquit, a distinguished practising lawyer of New York City. Mr. Hillquit was born in Riga, Russia, and after his early education there came to this country in 1886, and studied law in New York. He is the author of "History of Socialism in the United States" and "Socialism in Theory and Practice." He has been a delegate to the national conventions of the Socialist party since 1899, and to the international congresses and conferences at Amsterdam, Stuttgart, Copenhagen, and Brussels.

The subject is not a discussion as to whether the Church or Socialism is right. It is a discussion of Socialism, attacked by a Churchman and defended by a Socialist.

Unquestionably, arguments based on the teachings of revealed religion will be a factor in Dr. Ryan's discussion, but he will not rely for weapons and armor on inspiration or authority.

Neither is the attack narrowed to the expression of the ecclesiastical attitude of the Catholic Church. Not speaking with authority from his own Church, he is certainly not the chosen champion of other denominations. Yet it is true that he is, inevitably, contending for the position of all Christian Churches in so far as they oppose Socialism on the basis of religious argument.

The mechanics of the debate were somewhat difficult to arrange. In the outcome it was decided that the authors should exchange manuscripts and re-exchange, each with the right to introduce revisions in the light of what the other had written, until each should be content. A pair of articles, containing the rejoinders to each other, will, therefore, appear in each number of the magazine until the series is ended.

MR. HILLQUIT EXPLAINS "AUTHORITIES" AND DEFINES SOCIALISM

THE joint discussion on Socialism which opens in this number of EVERYBODY'S, and which is to be conducted between Dr. John A. Ryan and myself through several successive issues of the magazine, is the first public debate on the subject conducted on such a comprehensive scale and before such a large audience. The object of the discussion is to present to the reading public both sides of a much-mooted social problem and to draw their attention to the promise or menace of a political movement which is yearly growing in influence and extension.

The form of presentation chosen for that purpose is best calculated to secure that object. A partisan statement of the Socialist creed and movement by an adherent or opponent must necessarily suffer from one-sidedness, and all attempts at an "unbiased" presentation of both sides by one person are bound to fail, because in the nature of things there can be no true impartiality on any controversial subject of vital and direct social import. In a joint debate between an avowed Socialist and a determined and consistent opponent of the movement each debater may be expected to present his side in the strongest light, marshaling all available facts and arguments in favor of his contention, and thus enable the reader to exercise his own judgment on the merits of the controversy.

Especially is that the case when a debate is carried on from the deliberative seclusion of the study with ample intervals for dispassionate analysis and careful formulation of statements, rather than in the contentious atmosphere of an extemporaneous polemic from the platform.

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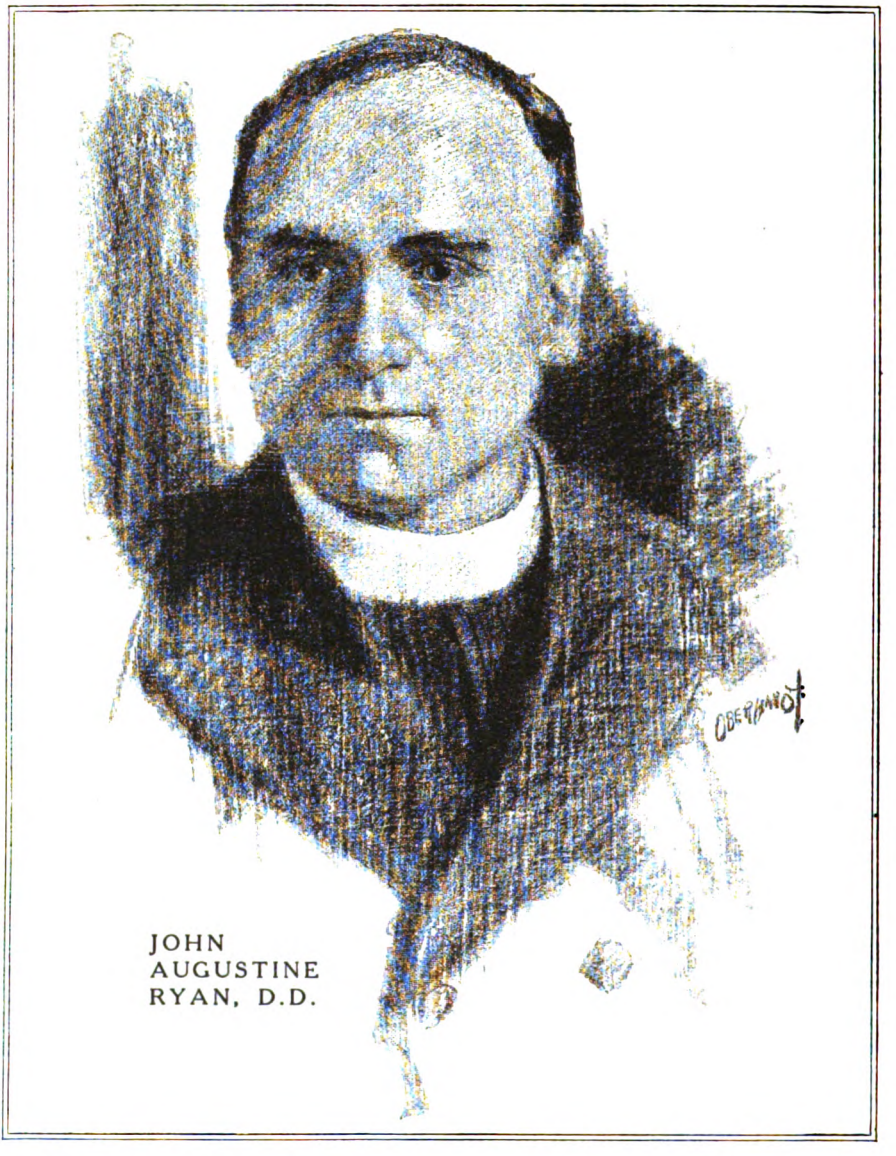

JOHN
AUGUSTINE
RYAN, D.D.

As an "orthodox" Socialist, who has spent the better part of his life in active service of the organized Socialist movement, I may without immodesty undertake to present the accepted Socialist position, and to speak for the Socialist movement with some degree of authority. On the other hand, my distinguished adversary, Dr. John A. Ryan, is one of the few opponents of Socialism in this country who are thoroughly familiar with the Socialist philosophy and movement, and whose opposition to both is based not on mere prejudice, but on a fair and serious criticism of the Socialist teachings and practises from their point of view. It may therefore be hoped that the debate will at all times preserve the character of an instructive discussion of pertinent issues.

Dr. Ryan, besides being an authority as a student and teacher of social and economic science, is an eminent Catholic divine, and I assume that he will approach the subject largely from the point of view of the Catholic Church, all the more that the latter has recently inaugurated an

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MORRIS
HILLQUIT

active campaign against Socialism. Dr. Ryan will, of course, be at liberty to assail the Socialist doctrines and methods with any weapons he may choose. He may base his opposition on the arguments of papal encyclicals just as well as on those of the conservative economists, and in either case I shall have to meet him on his own ground. But in no event will this debate develop into a discussion of the comparative merits or demerits of the Catholic Church and the Socialist movement. The Catholic Church is not at issue in this debate; the issue is and will always remain—Socialism. The Socialists are as little concerned with the Catholic Church as with any other organized expression of religious belief—they do not fight the Catholic Church unless forced to do so in self-defense.

I propose to defend the Socialist claims on their own merits. I shall attempt to prove that the Socialist philosophy is sound, that the Socialist ideal is just and equitable, that the Socialist ethics are pure, and that the Socialist methods are legitimate and efficient. If these claims should prove un-

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tenable, the Socialist contention fails of its own weakness; and if, on the contrary, Socialism should be proved to be rational and righteous, the opposition of the Catholic Church will not make it less so.

Like all other social theories and practical mass movements, Socialism produces certain divergent schools, bastard offshoots clustering around the main trunk of the tree, large in number and variety, but insignificant in size and strength. Thus we hear of State Socialism, Socialism of the Chair, Christian Socialism, and even Catholic Socialism. With these heterogeneous and heterodox varieties I am not concerned —their chief function is to confuse the minds of the unwary critics of Socialism; but they have no part in the real life and development of the active Socialist movement.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

The Socialism that counts and the one that is to be discussed here is that represented by the politically organized movement. This numbers its adherents by tens of millions, while the followers of all its secondary forms and variations in all countries are probably well within the hundred-thousand mark.

The modern political movement of Socialism is world-wide in scope and is absolutely definite and uniform in conception and methods. The international Socialist movement consists of a chain of organizations or parties, rarely more than one in each country. These parties meet at regular intervals in convention to discuss principles, tactics. and policies. The platforms, resolutions, and constitutions adopted at such conventions are the supreme expression of the organized movement. Barring variations in phraseology and allowing for differences of conditions and issues confronting the movement at different times and places, the declarations are practically identical in all cases. The dominant Socialist organizations of all countries are organically allied with one another. By means of an International Socialist Bureau supported at joint expense, the Socialist parties of the world maintain uninterrupted relations with one another, and every three years they meet in international conventions, whose conclusions are accepted by all constituent national organizations.

It is principally the doctrines and policies formulated by such official national and international Socialist conventions that I propose to defend and that I expect my opponent to assail in this debate.

Principally, but not exclusively.

For while the official statements and declarations of the organized Socialist parties, national and international, constitute the most indisputable authority on the questions with which they deal, there are certain other sources which can not properly be left out of account in a comprehensive and intelligent discussion on Socialism.

The practical Socialist movement is supported by a social philosophy which was formulated by the "theoreticians" of the movement, and was and still is constantly elaborated by its students and writers. In its every-day work and struggles the Socialist movement acts and speaks through its recognized representatives on the public platform, in legislative bodies or administrative offices. The utterances and acts of such writers and representatives, unless formally repudiated by their party, must be considered as legitimate expressions and manifestations of the Socialist movement, and its defenders and opponents alike may properly refer to them in support of their contentions. The same rule applies to the editorial attitude of the official publications of the Socialist parties.

NO CENSORSHIP FOR "AUTHORITIES"

But in fairness to both sides of the debate and to the reading public, certain limitations and exceptions must be noted here. The literature on Socialism—and I refer to the pro-Socialist side only—consists of many hundreds of volumes written in all modern languages, and there is no censorship and no *index expurgatorius* in the Socialist movement. The Socialist author writes on his own responsibility. If his work meets with the approval of the movement it is tacitly adopted as one of the instruments of the Socialist propaganda, otherwise it is rejected or ignored. To the uninformed this designation of "authorities" may seem exceedingly vague, but to persons familiar with the Socialist movement, its history and literature, it will convey a tolerably definite test.

Thus Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and

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Ferdinand Lassalle are unquestionably the theoretical founders of the modern Socialist movement, and their economic and political doctrines are substantially the basis of the philosophy of International Socialism. Similarly almost every strong national movement has produced a group of thinkers, writers, or "leaders," whose utterances are generally accepted as authoritative expressions of the Socialist position.

As such we may mention the Germans August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and Karl Kautsky; the Frenchmen Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, and Jean Jaurés; the Austrian Victor Adler; the Belgian Émile Vandervelde; the Russian Georges Plekhanoff, and the Englishmen H. M. Hyndman and J. Keir Hardie.

American Socialism has likewise advanced a number of representative spokesmen, whose names will readily suggest themselves to all persons familiar with the movement. The authors named do not by any means exhaust the list of Socialist "authorities"—they are only mentioned to substantiate the claim that there is a large circle of generally recognized exponents of the Socialist creed, whose expressed views may be invoked in a discussion of the subject, and that Socialism can not be charged with the utterances of unknown or irresponsible writers.

The expression "Socialist authorities" must furthermore be taken in a very restricted sense. Socialists are no respecters of "authorities." They do not accept the conclusions of their writers on faith. The leaders of Socialist thought are those who have been able to state their social and economic theories with the greatest degree of convincingness, and the ability to substantiate their views with facts and arguments always remains the test of their authoritativeness.

A CHANGING PROGRAM

There is nothing sacred in the writings even of the founders of the modern Socialist philosophy. Some of the economic doctrines of Ferdinand Lassalle and many cardinal planks of his practical program have been unable to withstand the test of experience and criticism, and have been discarded by the Socialist movement. Some of the expressed views of Marx and Engels have been modified by their Socialist followers, and generally the Socialist movement is constantly engaged in revising its creed as well as its tactics. Socialism is a modern, progressive movement engaged in practical, every-day struggles, and it can not escape the influence of changing social conditions or growing economic knowledge. The international Socialist movement is still Marxian, because the fundamental social and economic doctrines of Karl Marx, his collaborators and disciples, still hold good in the eyes of the vast majority of Socialists; but in the details of its methods and mode of action the Socialist movement to-day is quite different from what it was in the days of Marx.

SHAW THE DRAMATIST VS. SHAW THE SOCIALIST

And finally, another point must be borne in mind in any fair discussion on Socialism. The Socialist "authorities" are such only within the scope of their competency, *i.e.*, on the subject of Socialist economics and politics. Their opinions on all other topics must neither be credited nor charged to the Socialist movement.

For instance, G. Bernard Shaw is a well-known Socialist, and has written several tracts on economics which fairly express the recognized Socialist position. Mr. Shaw also happens to be a playwright and a dramatic critic. It would obviously be preposterous to claim that Shaw's volumes of dramatic criticism represent the Socialist view on the drama, and, perhaps in a minor degree, it is similarly unwarranted to claim that Engel's religious beliefs or Bebel's views on the institution of the family represent the Socialist conceptions on these subjects. Like the opinion of a judge on a subject not directly involved in the matter submitted to his decision, such extraneous views are *obiter dicta*, and not binding on anybody but the author.

With this statement of my opinion on the object of the present discussion and the methods to be employed in connection with it, I shall now endeavor to outline a concise statement of the aspect of Socialism which is to form the main subject of the debate.

The term *Socialism* is used indiscriminately to designate a certain social philosophy, a scheme of social organization, and an active political movement. As a philosophic system Socialism is concerned with

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the laws and course of social evolution in general and those of contemporaneous society in particular. It proceeds from a critical analysis of the prevailing order, seeks to discover its substance and mainsprings, to ascertain the causes of its shortcomings, and to determine the trend of its development.

WHAT SOCIALISM REALLY MEANS

As a practical movement Socialism stands primarily for industrial readjustment. It seeks to secure greater planfulness in the production of wealth and greater equity in its distribution.

Concretely stated, the Socialist program advocates a reorganization of the existing industrial system on the basis of collective or national ownership of the social tools. It demands that the control of the machinery of wealth-creation be taken from the individual capitalist and placed in the hands of the nation, to be organized and operated for the benefit of the whole people. The program implies radical changes in the existing industrial machinery, political structure, and social relations. The form of society which would result from such changes is usually designated in the literature on the subject as the *Socialist State* or the *Socialist Ideal.*

Thus the dominant factors in the Socialist thought, movement, and ideal may be said to be of a politico-economic nature. But Socialism is not devoid of ethical and spiritual implications. The Socialist philosophy involves certain definite views of right and wrong in the individual and social conduct of men, which are sometimes at variance with accepted standards; and the Socialist ideal is predicated on a change in the reciprocal relations of man and society which are bound to affect our conceptions of individual and social duty. The moral conceptions thus implied in the Socialist program constitute the code of Socialist ethics.

An adequate treatment of the subject will thus require a discussion of the Socialist criticism and program and the Socialist ideal and philosophy, as well as the bearings of Socialism on morals and religion. I propose to present the Socialist claims under these various heads in the succeeding issues of this magazine, and I trust to the tender mercies of my opponent to give adequate expression to the other side.

DR. RYAN REJECTS SOCIALISM AND OFFERS AN ALTERNATIVE

MY opponent's general statement of the methods that we have agreed to follow in the discussion now beginning leaves nothing under that head for me to add, subtract, or otherwise modify. He is to defend Socialism in the ways that seem best to him, and I am to oppose it with whatever weapons I choose. His generous personal references to me are naturally gratifying, even though strict candor would compel me to admit that they are not entirely deserved. In the spirit as well as the matter of his first article he sets a standard of courteous, dispassionate writing which I will at all times emulate. The debate will be one of issues, not of personalities.

Mr. Hillquit's delimitation of the subject-matter and his conception of the sources and standards for argumentation are on the whole the same as mine. Not any of the minor schools and varieties, but International Socialism is the thing that we are to debate. The doctrines and policies of this system as set forth in national and international conventions, "constitute the most indisputable authority on the subjects with which they deal." Nevertheless, "there are certain other sources which can not properly be left out of account." For the living thing called Socialism is underlaid and permeated by a fairly definite social philosophy, and "is not devoid of ethical and spiritual implications."

These elements are to be found in the pronouncements, whether by voice on the platform or by pen in books and journals, of the recognized authorities and representatives of the Socialist movement. What they say and do must be taken as the legitimate expression of the movement until it is formally repudiated. Some of the most important of these authoritative persons are

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named and others are alluded to in Mr. Hillquit's article. They would be accepted as adequately representative Socialists by any intelligent student of Socialism. His conception of the limited sense in which they are recognized as authorities by their fellow Socialists is likewise unexceptionable.

There is, however, one statement made by my opponent concerning the competency of these authorities which is not entirely adequate. They are, he tells us, authorities only "on the subject of Socialist economics and politics. Their opinions on all other topics must neither be credited nor charged to the Socialist movement." For example, the views of Bernard Shaw concerning the drama do not necessarily reflect the Socialist thought on that topic.

I admit the correctness of this contention, and for three good reasons: first, Mr. Shaw's notions on this subject are apparently peculiar to himself; second, they do not appear in those of his writings which deal specifically with Socialism; and, third, they are not placed by him in any definite relation to Socialism or Socialist philosophy.

When, however, Mr. Hillquit thus continues: "and, perhaps in a minor degree, it is similarly unwarranted to claim that Engel's religious beliefs or Bebel's views on the institution of the family represent the Socialist conceptions on these subjects," he understates the importance and relevance of these particular utterances. As I shall try to show at length in the proper place, such non-economic opinions as these have a direct and significant bearing on Socialist philosophy and the Socialist movement.

SOCIALISM—A THREEFOLD THEME

We are, as Mr. Hillquit states in his closing paragraphs, to discuss Socialism under a threefold aspect. We shall consider it not merely as an economic and political system, but also as a social philosophy and a living social movement. Were we to do less than this, our treatment of the subject would be partial, misleading, and inadequate. Every social ideal pursued by a social group involves a movement and a philosophy. If there be exceptions to this rule they do not include in their number the subject of this debate. Adequately considered, then, Socialism is an end, a means, and a set of fundamental principles. The end is the Socialist State, or Socialist reorganization of society; the means is the concrete Socialist movement with its organized political party, its literature, and its general propaganda; while the principles or philosophy consist mainly of an interpretation of history, and a theory of social forces and social evolution.

Although the Socialist State might conceivably be cherished and striven for by a different kind of movement from that known as International Socialism, and might start from and be motived by a different social philosophy, the fact is that the movement and the philosophy with which we have to deal are those which Mr. Hillquit has outlined. It is this living reality and not some imaginary or artificial Socialism that we are to discuss.

A THREEFOLD REJECTION

Thus far we are in agreement. Thus far, and no farther. For I reject and oppose Socialism in all three aspects. As a social philosophy, it reaches some glimmerings of truth, but is in the main false. As a living movement, it involves and disseminates so many and such baneful errors, social, religious, and ethical, that it is a constant menace to right principles and a right order of society. As a contemplated economico-political scheme, it would bring in more and greater evils than it would abolish.

While holding these rather decided views regarding Socialism, I would have the reader understand that I am not an undiscriminating apologist of the present industrial system. In many of its elements it is far, very far, from satisfactory or tolerable. On the other hand, it is not bankrupt. It has in it the possibilities of immense improvement. Hence we are not compelled to continue it as it now is or to fly to Socialism. There is a third alternative, namely, the existing system greatly, even radically, amended.

And this I believe to be the only reasonable choice, and the only enduring outcome.

*The debate between Dr. Ryan and Mr. Hillquit—**Socialism: Promise or Menace?**—will be continued in the November number.*

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SOCIALISM: PROMISE *or* MENACE?

A Debate between MORRIS HILLQUIT *and* JOHN AUGUSTINE RYAN, D·D·

EDITOR'S NOTE:—*Our crusaders for and against Socialism come to close quarters in this instalment.*

Last month was the foreword. Mr. Hillquit outlined the terms of discussion, the entire latitude of attack and defense permitted to both writers, and the limitation of the general subject to Socialism—not the Church. He defined International Socialism, Socialist authorities, and the concrete Socialist program as he advocates it.

Dr. Ryan followed with an even shorter outline of points of assent and dissent, ending with his definite rejection of Socialism in all its aspects.

In the pages which follow we find what Mr. Hillquit entitles "an indictment and a verdict," to which Dr. Ryan retorts, "an overdrawn indictment and an unwarranted verdict." The divergence is instant, the points and angles sharp, the command of the subject complete.

You must read this.

MR. HILLQUIT: MOST MODERN SOCIAL EVILS ARE DUE TO CAPITALISM; SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY FUNDAMENTAL REMEDY.

THAT the world needs mending, is generally conceded. It is the tacit assumption from which proceed all modern social and political activities, even those of the most conservative character. The divisions in public opinion arise only over the question of the extent of the needed improvement and the methods of accomplishment.

The old-line politicians and statesmen and the conventional philanthropists and church-workers take it for granted that the prevailing order of society is fundamentally sound, and that its workings are on the whole just and beneficial. The few social flaws which they discern they consider as purely accidental, something in the nature of a slight bruise or troublesome pimple on a healthy body.

The more modern political reformers and social-betterment workers have a somewhat wider range of social vision, but they too do not question the foundation of the body social and politic. The difference between

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the most advanced reformer and the most conservative "stand-patter" is one of degree, not of substance. The distinguishing feature of Socialism as a social philosophy lies in the fact that it is more scientific in its criticism and more radical in its remedy.

Socialism proceeds from a thoroughgoing analysis of the practical workings of the existing economic, political, and social institutions. It refuses to treat their multiform shortcomings as accidental and unrelated phenomena, but endeavors to establish their mutual bearings and to discover their common source. Its attack is directed primarily against that source, the underlying social wrong, which is the root and fountain-head of all minor and specific complaints.

The most serious social problems which confront the present generation may be grouped under five main heads, which together cover practically all phases of our communal existence—the economic, cultural, social, political, and intellectual. Of these the economic problem is by far the most important, and deserves our first attention.

INDUSTRIAL ANARCHY

The striking feature of the modern plan of industrial organization in its early phases of development is the lack of plan and absence of organization. In the most vital function of associated human beings, the "production of wealth," which means the process of sustaining life, anarchy reigns supreme. The necessaries and comforts of the community are not produced on an intelligent plan based on the needs of the population and the available supply of raw material and productive forces. They are created and thrown into the market pell-mell by an indeterminate number of individual competing and unorganized manufacturers.

The system involves an insane waste of human effort in duplication of plants and machinery, in sales forces, advertising, and other unproductive factors of competitive warfare. Work is unregulated and uncertain, periods of strenuous and taxing activity alternating with seasons of enforced idleness. The planless and casual mode of production often results either in a scarcity or in a superabundance of supplies.

In the former case the price of products rises to a point which puts them beyond the reach of the needy consumer, and the latter is apt to inflict on society that most fearful of capitalist scourges—the industrial crisis.

When the market is stocked with such an excessive quantity of commodities that the consumers have neither ability nor means to absorb them, industrial paralysis ensues. The wheels of production cease to turn, the arteries of trade are clogged. Millions of workers are thrown out of employment, thousands of business enterprises collapse. Men, women, and children succumb for want of food and clothing, and all the time food and clothing are piled up in prodigious quantities, rotting for lack of consumers.

The competitive system of private capitalism erects an unsurmountable barrier between the workers and their work, between the people and their food.

These glaring defects of competition in manufacture and trade ultimately lead to its partial suppression. The capitalists begin to organize. The individual merchant and manufacturer yield to the corporation, and the latter rapidly grows into that most modern of industrial monsters—the trust. The trusts succeed in eliminating some of the evils of unbridled competition, but they exact a terrible price for the service. With the control of the market in each important industry they acquire practically unrestricted powers over the workers as well as the consumers, and they do not hesitate to use and abuse these powers to the utmost.

To the trusts furthermore belongs the credit of having perfected the most pernicious of modern methods of financial malpractise—the "watering" of stocks. In creating by their mere fiat new income-bearing "securities" to the extent of billions of dollars, they impose a heavier tax on the people of this country than the combined organs of government ever dared to exact.

And the nation, as at present organized, is helpless before them. No amount of denunciations will shake their massive foundation, no penal legislation or court decrees will curtail their tremendous powers, as the sturdy corpses of the Standard Oil Company, the Tobacco Trust, and other dissolved and disemboweled combines eloquently attest. In the face of popular clamor and indignation they stand like huge giants, complacently grinning at the impotent ravings of excited pygmies, and the chances are that they may even pay little heed to the well-meant suggestion of

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THERE IS NO MORE HARMONY BETWEEN PRIVATELY OWNED CAPITAL AND WAGE-EARNING LABOR THAN THERE IS BETWEEN WOLF AND LAMB.

my opponent that all monopolies "should be forthwith abolished."

The trusts have largely abolished industrial anarchy. They have reared in its place the formidable throne of industrial autocracy.

ECONOMIC INIQUITY

The economic ascendency of the capitalists places them in a position to apportion the annual product of the country among its inhabitants. To be sure, they do not discharge that function consciously or planfully—they operate indirectly, each within his own sphere; but the collective result of the process amounts to an effective division of wealth, periodically accomplished by the capitalist class.

And the plan upon which the division proceeds is exceedingly simple:

The working population as a whole gets just a little less than is absolutely necessary to maintain it in physical fitness for its task and to enable it to reproduce the species *worker*.

The balance is retained by the capitalist purveyors as their just share of the "national" wealth.

It is this method of wealth distribution which rears our thousands of powerful millionaires, our proud mansions and magnificent social entertainments, and it is this method also that breeds our millions of paupers with their disreputable dwellings, their filth and rags. To this capitalist system of wealth distribution we are largely indebted for our libraries, our hospitals, rescue missions, and charitable institutions of all descriptions; also for our pauperism, child-labor, trade diseases, white slavery, and many other forms of destitution and its twin-sisters, crime and vice.

THE "CORNER" IN CULTURE

The monopoly of material wealth inevitably involves a corresponding monopoly in education and culture. If the degree of civilization attained by a community is to be measured not by the heights of accomplishment reached by the few, but by the general diffusion of culture among the masses, then indeed our modern civilization is a miserable failure.

The large masses of the people participate to some extent in the benefits of the practical achievements of modern science, but the general cultural influences of the marvelous scientific discoveries of recent times pass by them with little effect. Millions of mine-workers, factory-hands, and street-laborers still live in the fifteenth century, and as to the fine arts, the drama, literature, music, painting, and sculpture, and all the things that go so far toward ennobling and embellishing the life of the cultured individual, they simply do not exist for the vast majority of the people who have neither means nor leisure to cultivate them.

SOCIAL WARFARE

But the most disastrous effect of the system of private capitalistic industries is the division of the population into distinct social and economic groups with conflicting and hostile interests. The prevailing system of industrial ownership and operation arrays the producer against the consumer, the tenant against the landlord, and the worker against the employer.

Most far reaching in social consequences is the war between the latter two classes. For there is war and nothing but war between the capitalist and the worker, in spite of the conventional cant about the alleged harmony of their economic interests. The capitalists' profits stand in inverse ratio to the workers' wages and vice versa. So long as the industries of the country are operated for the private advantage of the individual capitalist, so long will the latter strive to secure the maximum of work for the minimum of pay; and so long as human labor remains a mere commodity to be sold to the capitalist in open market, so long will the worker strive to save and conserve this his

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sole valuable possession, and to obtain as large a price for it as he can.

There is no more harmony between privately owned capital and wage-earning labor than there is between the wolf and the lamb. The modern capitalist extracts his profits by dint of his economic power, the ownership of the tools of work. The modern toiler does his share of the world's work under protest. When he does not strike or boycott or destroy his employer's property, he renders his services grudgingly. Instinctively he hates his employer, for he feels that the latter is robbing him of a large portion of his legitimate product by means of an artificial social arrangement.

The employer feels and fears that hatred, and is always on the watch for open outbreaks of the sentiment, prepared to quell the ever-anticipated revolts of his "hands" by a course of starvation, enforced, if need be, by the clubs of the police, the rifles of the militia, or by court injunctions. "Industrial disputes" are not the exception, they are almost the rule, in the relations of employer and employee. Our industrial derangement, miscalled "system," operates through a state of permanent industrial warfare, in which the true producers of all wealth are treated as prisoners of war.

This general and relentless social strife is not fomented by malevolent "agitators." It is rooted in the very foundations of the system of capitalism and is the most damning indictment against it.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION

Nor are the direct economic faults of the existing order its only or even greatest curse. The diseased germs of the system are bound to infect all organs of the body politic with their insidious poison. For, after all, modern politics is mainly concerned with affairs of business within the municipality, state, and nation. Franchises and grants for public-service corporations, tariffs for manufacturing industries, supervision of certain quasi-public business concerns, regulation of rates and charges of others, and rules with respect to certain employments—these constitute the largest items on the calendar of every legislative body, and all such legislation has a direct effect on the capitalists' ledger.

The capitalists are likewise vitally concerned in the personnel of the executive and judicial officials. The favors or disfavors of such officials often mean dollars and cents to them. The big business interests have thus a direct and practical motive in seeking to influence or control politics. And therein lies the main cause of all contemporary political woes. The national campaigns of the old political parties are financed, hence controlled, very largely by the national trusts through their individual representatives; the state campaigns by the principal railroad lines of the state; and the municipal campaigns by the local traction, gas, or other "public-service" corporations.

Under these conditions politics becomes a lucrative calling exercised by a large army of professionals, trained in the fine art of trafficking in votes, public offices, and legislative enactments. The Spartan band of our honest but simple statesmen may continue exerting their ingenuity toward the elaboration of an ideal Corrupt Practises Act and perfect primary laws, and our public-spirited municipal reformers may remain on their life-job of purifying local politics; they may even succeed in curbing the raw methods of open barter and in introducing greater outward decency, as has been the case in the last presidential campaign; but they can not change the substance.

So long as politics has a direct bearing on private profits, there will always exist a commercial alliance between the capitalist and the politician, the former having a constant incentive to corrupt, and the latter being in the business of being corrupted.

And what is true of politics holds equally good of the effects of capitalism on all fields of the intellectual and spiritual life of the nation. The general state of public enlightenment in the last analysis determines all social and political developments of the country.

INTELLECTUAL CORRUPTION

The natural and direct impulse of every individual or group or class of individuals is to act in a manner most conducive to the promotion of his or their interests. But in order to make the action effective, the interests must be intelligently understood. If the majority of the people clearly perceived their needs and rights, and realized their power, no minority would ever rule. The fact that all ruling classes in history have been in the minority is to be largely

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accounted for by their ability to impose on the rest of the population such views and notions as were required to preserve their rule.

Not that the rule of any dominant class was ever based on purely intellectual concepts—on the contrary, they were always supported by brute physical force in the shape of strong armies; but nevertheless they depended ultimately on popular sanction. In the absence of such sanction the ruling classes could not even recruit and maintain their armies in the long run.

THE PRESS, PULPIT, AND SCHOOL ARE LARGELY UNDER CAPITALISTS' INFLUENCE, IF NOT DIRECTLY IN THEIR SERVICE.

The capitalists are no exception to this general historical rule. They constitute a minority in the population of every civilized country. Their rule is based on their ownership of the tools of work, the laws which sanction and protect such ownership, and the government organized to enforce such sanction and protection. But in a political democracy the laws will change with every change of the popular notion of justice and expediency, and the government is always the football of contending forces of diverse material interests. To preserve their economic power the capitalists must retain their political control, and the latter presupposes the support of a majority of the people.

Modern capitalism depends on popular sanction even in a larger measure than the ruling classes of the past, because that sanction must be renewed and solemnly attested every few years at the ballot-box.

The capitalists are thus vitally concerned in the state of enlightenment, social views, economic doctrines, and ethical conceptions of their fellow-citizens, and they spare no effort to shape them in conformity with their own notions and interests. The press, the pulpit, and the school are largely under their influence, if not directly in their service.

The most influential part of the daily press is either owned outright by them, or mortgaged to them, or dependent on them through advertisements and similar bonds of friendship, and the average editorial writer quite naturally views the world and its problems through the colored spectacles of his masters.

The churches, especially the larger and wealthier, are also supported by the money interests, and their ministers in most cases quite innocently and sincerely deliver the message of Christ in the version of the factory superintendent.

The public schools suffer from the same malign political influences which corrupt the city councils, and the colleges and universities are founded, endowed, or supported by benevolent capitalists, on the tacit condition that science is at all times to remain respectable and respectful.

The existence of some "independent" press and the occasional type of the progressive preacher and the radical college professor only prove that exceptionally vigorous spirits may assert themselves in spite of the corrupting influences of capitalist economic pressure. They justify the hope of Socialism, but do not mitigate the evils of Capitalism.

In his reply to this article Dr. Ryan asserts that the press, the school, and the church must furnish the moral and intellectual remedies against the social evil of our day and generation. Why and how *must* they? This categoric imperative has been hurled at them for a great many centuries without visible effect. What reason does my hopeful opponent have to assume that they will respond to his challenge now?

It seems to me quite clear that so long as the sources of popular knowledge and faith and the organs of public expression are monopolized by private capitalist interests, so long will they serve the same purpose as the privately owned tools of production—to fortify the capitalist rule.

THE SOCIALIST REMEDY

Thus the most serious of flaws in our scheme of social arrangement may be readily traced to one common source—the system which hands over to a relatively small number of favored individuals the very key to the life and welfare of the whole people,

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the sources of wealth and the tools of work, and allows them to monopolize wealth, power, ease, and culture, leaving the majority of their fellow-men to struggle in poverty, dependence, toil, and ignorance—the anarchistic, predatory, demoralizing, and corrupting system of Capitalism.

It is no answer to the Socialist indictment to say that with all its shortcomings modern civilization is superior to all conditions of the past.

The modern or *capitalist* era has introduced certain grave social problems unknown to the past. It has increased the risks and the insecurity of the working population, it has accentuated social contrasts, and has reared a new social power of unprecedented virulence and menace, the money power. But with all that the Socialists cheerfully admit that, on the whole, life is more propitious to-day even to the masses than it was at any time in the past. The very foundation of their optimistic philosophy rests on the realization of the world's never-ceasing process of betterment.

The Socialists, however, refuse to admit that the capitalist system is the ultimate and perfect form of social development and the last word of history. The criterion of their criticism is not the conditions of the past, but the measure in which the present has taken advantage or failed to take advantage of the available forces of improvement.

When a nation is poor in natural resources and unskilled in the art of producing its sustenance by means of appropriate instruments and methods, the sum of supplies produced or secured will naturally fall short of the norm required to satisfy the needs of all inhabitants. Poverty is legitimate under such circumstances, and struggles for food among men are inevitable.

But when a people is abundantly blessed with fertile soil, forests, minerals, and other sources of wealth, and has developed a perfect system for the production, transportation, and distribution of goods, it is placed in a position to take care of the reasonable needs of all its members. In such case poverty and brute fights for food or wealth are no longer "natural"—they are purely artificial and evidence of a serious flaw in the organization of the industrial system.

The Socialists contend that all modern civilized nations are amply provided with natural wealth, and that the development of the marvelous instruments of production, transportation, and exchange within the last century has increased the fertility of human labor to such an extent that every nation is able to feed, clothe, and house its inhabitants with perfect ease.

The reason that this is not done, and that the richest nations present the most appalling scenes of poverty and destitution among large sections of the population, is to be found in the fact that in modern societies wealth is not at all created for the satisfaction of human needs, but for the purpose of enabling a number of chosen individuals, commonly styled *capitalists*, to hoard up fortunes.

SOCIALISM STANDS FOR COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP OF ALL SOCIAL SOURCES AND INSTRUMENTS OF WEALTH PRODUCTION, TO BE OPERATED UNDER DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE.

In other words, our industrial machinery is organized for private profit, not for public use.

Socialism proposes to abolish the capitalist industrial monopoly and to organize and develop in its stead a system of socialized industries, *i. e.*, a system by which the important industries of the country shall be operated by the people, under rational and democratic forms of organization and management, for the benefit of the whole community, and not for the profit of individual capitalists. The first step to such a system is the acquisition by the people, through their government, of all the general sources and resources of wealth and the modern instruments of labor. More technically stated, Socialism stands for the collective ownership of all social sources and instruments of wealth production, to be operated under democratic administration for the benefit of the whole people.

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DR. RYAN: THE SOCIALIST INDICTMENT OF CAPITALISM IS OVERDRAWN; REFORMED CAPITALISM IS THE REMEDY.

THE remedy for our social ills proposed by the Socialist is, indeed, more radical than the program of the social reformer. But the Socialist criticism is not more scientific. It is not scientific at all. It exaggerates the wrongs and defects of the existing order because it considers them without reference to the achievements of the past and the possibilities of the present and future; because it attributes to human nature and human institutions a perfectibility that is not justified by experience; and because it makes social causality and social processes entirely too simple.

"INDUSTRIAL ANARCHY"

Mr. Hillquit's indictment of our methods of wealth production may be summed up in his own words, "Anarchy reigns supreme." As a consequence of this anarchy we have: an enormous waste of energy and resources; alternating periods of over-employment and under-employment; untold suffering by millions of human beings; monopolistic concentration which exercises "practically unrestricted powers over the workers as well as the consumers," and which defies even the government itself; and, finally, a system of distribution which doles out to the working population "just a little less than is absolutely necessary to maintain it in physical fitness for its task and to enable it to reproduce the species *worker;*" a system of distribution which breeds "thousands of powerful millionaires, . . . and . . . millions of paupers with their disreputable dwellings, their filth and rags."

Of these assertions some are true only in a figurative sense; others are only half-truths; none is true adequately or scientifically; and all are misleading.

a. Figures of Speech.

The nation, says my opponent, is helpless before the trusts.

How does he know? The strength of the nation in this respect has never been tested.

During the period of less than twenty years in which the trusts were organizing, no systematic, comprehensive, and persistent effort was set in motion to prevent, control, or dissolve them. To assume that the partial dissolution of the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company by a court decree has exhausted the power of the government, is to ignore the greater part of its resources both in the field of prevention and punishment. Thank God, we now have a national administration which does not believe either in the craven doctrine of trust omnipotence or in the paralyzing superstition of trust efficiency, and which will earnestly and intelligently utilize *all* the powers of the nation against Mr. Hillquit's "huge giants."

Not until this plan has met with decisive failure will his pessimistic presentment of national helplessness be within measurable distance of literal and scientific statement.

Another purely figurative assertion is that "the working population as a whole gets just a little less than is absolutely necessary to maintain it in physical fitness for its task and to enable it to reproduce the species *worker.*" Therefore, the working class must in time disappear, since its ranks can not be recruited indefinitely from the middle class. That would be one solution of the class struggle.

As a matter of fact, the majority of the wage-earners do marry and reproduce. Practically all the skilled workers, and a considerable portion of the unskilled, get sufficient remuneration to command some leisure, recreation, and amusement; some education, books, and newspapers; some religious advantages and church affiliation; and some purely "social" intercourse and benefits.

Even the statement that we have millions of paupers is only figurative. When Professor Ely put the number at three million in 1890, and Robert Hunter made it four million in 1904, they were using the word "pauper" in its technical, not in its general sense. They were attempting to estimate the number of persons who received sustenance from charity for any portion of the year, however short. Since the vast majority of

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these persons suffered this hardship for only a very brief period, they were not paupers in the general and ordinary acceptation, nor did their condition approach that dire need which is suggested to the average reader by statements like that of Mr. Hillquit.

b. Half-Truths.

Under this head comes my opponent's description of the wastes, maladjustment, and suffering involved in the competitive system. Even though his presentation of these evils were literally accurate, it would not follow that the system is economically and ethically bankrupt. Such a conclusion would not be justified until the evils complained of had been shown to be greater than those of any previous system, until the present system had been proved incapable of improvement, or until a certainly better system had been found.

None of these conditions is met by Mr. Hillquit.

IMPROVEMENT UNDER CAPITALISM

Economic conditions are better for the masses than they have been at any previous time. With the exception of perhaps the poorest one-tenth, the working classes are better fed, clothed, and housed, and better provided with economic goods generally. Even the "submerged tenth" is probably better fed and housed than was the corresponding section of the population in the most favorable period of the past, namely, the later Middle Ages. The advances made by all divisions of the working class since the beginning of the capitalist system, about a century and a quarter ago, constitute one of the commonplaces of economic history.

Indeed, Mr. Hillquit admits that, "on the whole, life is more propitious to-day even to the masses than it was at any time in the past;" but he contends that the present system has introduced certain grave evils of its own, and has "failed to take advantage of the available forces of improvement." That the position and livelihood of large sections of the working population are less secure under the existing arrangement than in the stable and regulated conditions of medieval society, can not be doubted; but this defect is gradually diminishing, and it can be entirely removed through the modern device of insurance. That our "money power" is a new thing under the sun, is likewise unquestionable; yet it does not exercise the same minute control over the lives and liberties of the people as the feudal aristocracy; besides, its sway can be curtailed or destroyed as soon as the national government seriously makes the attempt.

That we have not taken "advantage of the available forces of improvement," is most lamentably true; but this fact does not justify the assumption that our economic system is incapable of so doing.

Neither Mr. Hillquit nor any other critic has adduced positive evidence to show that the present system can not be so reformed as to eliminate all the genuine evils that he denounces. From the progress made in the United States in the last twenty-five years in the matters of collective bargaining between employers and employees, the protection of women and children in industry, safety and sanitation in work places, compensation for industrial accidents, minimum-wage legislation, the attitude of the public and of employers toward the rights and claims of labor, the realization that the main abuses of economic power proceed not from capital but from privileged capital, and other significant changes—we conclude that our economic society is neither retrogressive nor stagnant.

The extent to which the grosser evils of competition have been removed through combination and cooperation gives some indication of the immense progress that is easily possible along these lines. Industrial crises have steadily diminished in frequency and intensity. All these are solid, definite, and substantial gains. To ignore them is unjust. To assume that they have come to an end is unwarranted and unscientific.

My opponent's indictment of the existing order becomes reasonable only on the assumption that a perfectly flawless economic system is practically attainable. Such a system he thinks he has found in Socialism. How badly he is mistaken in this supposition, we shall see in the next and later issues of EVERYBODY'S. In the meantime I would merely call attention to the fact that the "anarchy" and wastes of the present system may well be a smaller social evil than the lack of individual liberty and incentive which are inseparable from a rigidly determined economico-political order.

Is it desirable that all workers should be compelled to sell their labor to, and all

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THE "ANARCHY" AND WASTES OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM MAY WELL BE A SMALLER SOCIAL EVIL THAN THE LACK OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND INCENTIVE INEVITABLE UNDER SOCIALISM.

consumers forced to buy their goods from, one agency, the State?

With regard to inadequate incentive, Professor Thorstein Veblen, who is by no means an unfriendly critic of Socialism, writes:

"While it is in the nature of things unavoidable that the management of industry by modern business methods should involve a large misdirection of effort and a large waste of goods and services, it is also true that the aims and ideals to which this manner of life gives effect, act forcibly to offset all this incidental futility. These pecuniary aims and ideals have a very great effect, for instance, in making men work hard and unremittingly, so that on this ground alone the business system probably compensates for any waste involved in its working. There seems, therefore, no tenable ground for thinking that the working of the modern system involves a curtailment of the community's livelihood. It makes up for its wastefulness by the added strain which it throws upon those engaged in productive work." ("The Theory of Business Enterprise," p. 65; New York, 1904.)

If we compare the evils of our present system with the elements of an ideal social order, we can not condemn them too strongly; if we compare them with what in the light of experience seems to be practicable, we see that they are not nearly so terrible as they appear in the eloquent pages of Mr. Hillquit. Inasmuch as he employs the former rather than the latter criterion, his picture lacks perspective and proportion, and gives us only a series of half-truths.

"THE 'CORNER' IN CULTURE"

The same judgment must be passed on his description of those evils of present society which are not primarily economic. Measured by the general diffusion of culture among the masses, he says, "our modern civilization is a miserable failure." This verdict is not warranted if our standard of comparison is to be the achievements of the past or an accurate interpretation of the possibilities of the present and the future. Does Mr. Hillquit think that the culture of, say, the university professor could through any feasible arrangement of economic and social conditions be brought within the reach of every human being?

"Millions of mine-workers, factory-hands, and street-laborers still live in the fifteenth century." Surely this is an overstatement. Only a small minority of these classes, in the United States at least, are entirely without education, books, and newspapers. Only a small minority of the fifteenth-century populations possessed any of these things. On the whole, progress, very great progress, has been made in the task of providing opportunities of culture for the masses.

"SOCIAL WARFARE"

According to my opponent, our present industrial arrangements pit producer against consumer, tenant against landlord, and worker against employer. To a large extent this is true. It is also inevitable. In some degree it would prevail even under Socialism; for the producers of any article would not be identical with the whole body of its consumers. The former would seek the highest possible remuneration; the latter would for the most part desire to keep down the price of the article, and therefore the wages of its producers. The Socialists make a great deal of this antagonism of interests, yet a little reflection would show that it could be eliminated only by a return to that primitive economy in which each man produces only for himself, and buys nothing from any one else.

Although much of the current talk about the harmony of interests between employer and employee is just what Mr. Hillquit calls it, "conventional cant," his own figure of the wolf and the lamb is little better than a caricature. Whether they realize it or not,

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both employer and employee prosper better in the long run by so arranging their relations that the total product to be divided between them shall be as large as possible. The share of the capitalist will in most instances be greater if he establishes liberal conditions of employment and wages than if he rigorously strives "to secure the maximum of work for the minimum of pay."

That the majority of employers have not yet realized this truth does not make it an untruth; that a constantly increasing number of them is realizing it, shows that it need not remain forever undiscovered by the determining mass of them.

The assertion that the toiler "instinctively hates his employer" applies to only a small minority of the laboring class. It is inaccurate to say that " 'industrial disputes' are almost the rule;" for between no groups of employers and employees do they prevail most of the time. A fairly complete array of statistics shows that in proportion to the wage-earning population strikes are steadily decreasing. (For proof of this statement see Adams and Sumner, "Labor Problems," p. 180; New York, 1905.) The relations subsisting between the average employer and his employees during the greater part of any year are no more correctly characterized by the term "dispute" than is the relation between the average housewife and the keeper of the corner grocery.

Inevitable difference of interests does not imply continual warfare.

"POLITICAL CORRUPTION"

The demoralizing influence of business, especially "big business," upon our political life is summarily though somewhat luridly sketched by Mr. Hillquit. I shall not quarrel with his account of the past, but I can not accept his inference that no substantial improvement is visible or possible. To characterize the far-reaching and fundamental changes for the better which have occurred in the last five years, particularly in the last presidential campaign, as no more than "greater outward decency," is to substitute hyperbole for literal and accurate statement.

Moreover, my opponent takes no account of the fact that the really formidable corruption practised by the great corporations is quite as recent as the corporations themselves, and that time is required to acquaint the people with the new conditions and the new dangers. That capitalists will always seek to corrupt politicians is true; but the same will ever be true of any class whose interests are affected by the activities of government.

Even under Socialism men would still desire certain good things, such as larger incomes and better positions, which would be within the power of political functionaries. And these goods would be not less but more important to men with moderate salaries than are increased profits to the present-day capitalists. The only essential difference is that the bribes would be more numerous and less liberal.

"INTELLECTUAL CORRUPTION"

According to Mr. Hillquit, the press, the pulpit, and the school are largely under the influence, if not directly in the service, of the capitalists. Taken as it stands, this is a gross overstatement.

Despite numerous and notorious instances to the contrary, the monthly and weekly periodicals do not support all the main projects and desires of Capitalism. The great daily newspapers are, indeed, more subservient; yet a considerable portion of them are independent on many important issues, for example, on the trusts and the tariff. Not a little of the recently aroused public opinion on these subjects, and on the subject of privileged wealth generally, is due to some of the metropolitan dailies.

> THAT CAPITALISTS WILL ALWAYS SEEK TO CORRUPT POLITICIANS IS TRUE; BUT THE SAME WILL BE TRUE OF ANY CLASS WHOSE INTERESTS ARE AFFECTED BY GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY.

To be sure, if my opponent merely means to say that the press upholds the system of private ownership of capital as against Socialism, he states the truth; but it is

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THE EVILS WHICH ARE SPECIFICALLY TRACEABLE TO CAPITALISM, SUCH AS OPPRESSION OF LABOR, UNRIGHTEOUS AND UNEARNED INCOMES, AND INSUFFICIENT DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTIVE PROPERTY, CAN ALL BE ELIMINATED BY MEASURES OF SOCIAL REFORM.

not, after all, a very illuminating truth.

His assertion that the churches are supported by the money interests, and that the clergy "deliver the message of Christ in the version of the factory superintendent," is adequately true of only a small minority. It is, however, true of practically all of them in the sense that they do not preach the Gospel in the version of Karl Marx.

To say that "the colleges and universities are founded, endowed, or supported by benevolent capitalists, on the tacit condition that science is to remain at all times respectable and respectful," and to imply that this alleged condition is fulfilled, is to disregard the actual teaching of these institutions, particularly as given from the chairs of sociology and economics. The statement just quoted from my opponent is evidently based entirely on *a priori* grounds.

His contention that only the "exceptionally vigorous spirits" among journalists, clergymen, and college professors resist "the corrupting influences of capitalist economic pressure," is one for which he offers no semblance of proof. All the evidence tends to show that the contrary statement is nearer the truth, namely, that it is the men who yield to these influences who constitute the exceptions in these three classes.

His assertion that the press, the school, and the church have for centuries failed to achieve anything worth while toward remedying social evils, is obviously pure rhetoric. Let him soberly, and with an eye single to the facts of history, eliminate from social progress the contributions of these three agencies, and then tell us what remains.

That the press, the school, and the church have not removed all social evils nor brought about ideal social conditions is most true, but it does not warrant the statement that they have accomplished practically nothing, nor the inference that they will have no success in the future. Here, as in so many other parts of his article, my opponent has adopted an unreasonable and impossible criterion of achievement.

To ascribe all the evils of the present order to a single source, the private ownership of capital, is neither antecedently plausible nor justified by fact. It offers us an explanation that is entirely too simple. We are reminded of the words of Professor Marshall: "Nature's action is complex; and nothing is gained in the long run by pretending that it is simple, and trying to describe it in a series of elementary propositions." ("Principles of Economics," p. x.; first edition.) Inasmuch as the situation that we are considering involves the action and interaction of rational and non-rational nature in a hundred different ways, we should expect its causes and problems to be in the highest degree complex.

"THE SOCIALIST REMEDY"

A sober analysis of the facts shows that the evils denounced by Mr. Hillquit are due to Capitalism only in part, and that even this part is specifically chargeable not to the system itself, but to its abuses. Many of our social wrongs and maladjustments spring directly from the limitations of human nature, such as ignorance and greed; these would exist and be effective under any system whatever. The evils which are specifically traceable to Capitalism, for example, oppression of labor, unrighteous and unearned incomes, and the insufficient distribution of productive property, can all be eliminated through measures of social reform.

According to my opponent, however, social reform can afford only slight and temporary relief, and can not produce a "lasting or radical cure." The truth or untruth of this contention depends upon our definition of

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terms, and our standard of achievement. Measured by any criterion taken from history and experience, the improvement in social conditions since the rise of the capitalist system is not "slight;" judged by all the available indications of our time, it is not "temporary." (See, for example, the historical review contained in chapter xiii. of "Labor Problems," by Adams and Sumner.)

As to the future, every indication points to a great acceleration of all movements for specific reforms. Such will be the normal result of our increased knowledge of social facts, forces, and possibilities, the awakening of the social conscience, and the enlarged intelligence, determination, and power of the less fortunate classes. While I agree with my opponent neither as regards the method nor the content of a "radical and lasting cure" of our social evils, I believe that he is right in his statement that our natural and technical resources are adequate to provide all our people with abundant food, clothing, and housing. I believe that we are moving, slowly indeed, but steadily, toward this goal, and that we shall reach it not by the futile way of Socialism, but along the solid road of social reform.

In the light of past experience and present knowledge, the direction of this road seems to be about as follows:

1. Necessary and Adequate Social Reforms.

The three great economic defects of the existing system are: insufficient remuneration of the majority of wage-earners; excessive incomes obtained by a small minority of capitalists; and the narrow distribution of capital ownership.

For insufficient wages the essential and appropriate remedy is a legal minimum wage which will prevent any person from being compelled to work for less than the equivalent of a decent livelihood, including adequate protection against all the contingencies of existence. While awaiting the realization of this condition, the State must make legislative provision for insurance against sickness, accident, unemployment, and old age, and for decent housing of all whose wages are still inadequate.

Other necessary laws are those which will effect a better adjustment between the supply of and the demand for labor, abolish improper forms and conditions of female labor, prevent excessive hours of labor among all classes of workers, make rational provision for the adjustment of industrial disputes, and establish a thorough and universal system of industrial education. The ends sought by all this legislation can and should be promoted by an indefinite increase in the extent and power of labor organizations.

Excessive incomes and profits can be prevented through the abolition of special privilege and unregulated monopoly. All monopolistic concerns except those which experience will prove to be natural and necessary must be absolutely destroyed. Such natural monopolies as railroads, telegraphs, street railways, and municipal utilities generally should be either owned and operated by the appropriate public authority, or so regulated that their owners will receive no more than the prevailing rate of interest on the actual value of the property. If the future should demonstrate that, even outside this field of public utilities, there are certain commodities which can be most economically produced under the control of a monopolistic concern, the State should either fix the maximum prices at which these goods can be sold, or become to some extent a competitor in their production. A private unregulated monopoly is socially intolerable.

> UNTIL THE MAJORITY OF WAGE-EARNERS BECOME OWNERS, AT LEAST IN PART, OF THE TOOLS WITH WHICH THEY WORK, THE SYSTEM OF PRIVATE CAPITAL WILL REMAIN ESSENTIALLY UNSTABLE.

Taxes should be gradually removed from production and from the necessaries of life, and placed upon land, incomes, and inheritances. If a considerable part of the future increases of land values were appropriated through taxation, land would become easier of access to the landless, and unearned incomes would receive a salutary check. As

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a result of the foregoing measures, capital would be automatically restricted to the prevailing or competitive rate of interest in all cases except where the capitalist was able to secure more through exceptional personal efficiency. In every instance, therefore, the returns to the capitalist would not exceed a fair and necessary payment for his social services.

The narrow distribution of capital ownership is more fundamental than the other two evils, because it threatens the stability of the whole system. That the majority of the wage-earners should, in a country as rich as America, possess no income-bearing property, have no ownership in the means of production, is a gross anomaly. It is not normal, and it can not be permanent. No nation can endure as a nation predominantly of hired men. Until the majority of the wage-earners become owners, at least in part, of the tools with which they work, the system of private capital will remain, in Hilaire Belloc's phrase, "essentially unstable."

The condition in which only a minority of the employees participate in the ownership of the business that employs them, and which puts the responsible direction of industry into the hands of a small number of very powerful persons, is a pathological condition. It already threatens the life of the present system.

To quote the historian Brooks Adams: "The capitalistic domination of society, which has prevailed for rather more than two generations, has broken down, and men of the capitalist type have apparently the alternative before them of adapting themselves to a new environment, or of being eliminated, as every obsolete type has always been eliminated." (*The Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1913, p. 435.)

One of the most important steps in this process of adjustment will be the distribution of a large measure of capital ownership among the workers. This end can be attained in a great variety of ways, but the two main types must be co-partnership and cooperative societies. The change will necessarily come slowly, but such has been the history of all fundamental and enduring improvements.

As I have already observed, a considerable part of our social evils are not economic, but intellectual and moral. For these the remedies must evidently be provided through the mental and ethical education of the individual, and the sources of such education are the press, the school, and the church. The facts and relations of industrial life must become better known, the moral law must be more specifically applied to all phases of economic activity, and the social and individual conscience must be educated and quickened.

REBUTTAL BY MR. HILLQUIT

WHILE I cheerfully admit that some of the reform measures proposed by Dr. Ryan are entirely sound and highly desirable, I can not accept his program as an adequate remedy for the existing economic evils. I consider it furthermore quite unwarranted to advance any proposal of minor and immediate social reforms *in opposition* to the ultimate Socialist program.

Socialism is not opposed to genuine social reform. Many of the measures advocated by Dr. Ryan as a substitute for Socialism are contained in the Socialist platform, and some of them have been first formulated by Socialists. The Socialists advocate and support every measure calculated to better the lot of the worker or to curb excessive wealth or profits; but they realize that all such reforms are, and in the nature of things must be, mere makeshifts, useful but temporary. They consider them in the nature of palliative remedies administered to the patient to soothe his pains and to strengthen his system pending the more radical treatment of the basic disease, but entirely powerless to effect a complete cure.

Let us imagine that the program of reforms mentioned by Dr. Ryan has been fully realized. A minimum wage has been established by law, the length of the workday has been limited to a reasonable number of hours, and proper provisions have been made for the relief of workers in case of sickness, accident, unemployment, and old age. Is it to be assumed that after the enactment of such reforms the workers

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would rest forever passive and contented; that they would abandon all efforts toward further betterment, and that the wheels of social progress would come to a sudden stop?

By no means. The capitalist would still make profits from the labor of the worker, the worker would still claim a larger share of the product. This movement can not logically stop until such time as complete social justice shall be established by returning to the working population as a whole the full product of their labor and abolishing all "workless" incomes, except in the shape of public support to the weak and disabled; in other words, until Socialism shall be realized.

Thus Dr. Ryan and I start from the same premises, the realization of the need of radical social changes. The difference between us is the usual difference between the Socialist and the non-Socialist reformer. The former endeavors to follow the path of progress to the end, while the latter remains faltering and inconclusive, trying to accomplish the impossible task of establishing a terminal at an indefinite point in the middle of the road.

ANSWER BY DR. RYAN

MY OPPONENT contends that many of the proposals set forth in my main article are contained in the Socialist platform, and that some of them were first formulated by Socialists. The latter statement appears to me to be very doubtful. Of late years the Socialist party has been fairly enterprising in adopting among its "immediate demands" reform measures which have attained a certain degree of popularity, and claiming them as its own.

For example, the legal minimum wage has been advocated and agitated by different groups of social reformers for several years, but it made its first appearance in an American Socialist platform in 1912. When it was embodied in the Progressive platform about a month later, some of the leading Socialists claimed that Roosevelt had stolen it from them!

As a matter of fact, the German Socialists in the early years of their parliamentary activity opposed some very necessary social reforms; Socialists everywhere subordinate such measures to party welfare and tactics; and no Socialist platform, so far as I am aware, contains a single reform proposal which was not borrowed from non-Socialist sources. From the Socialist viewpoint, however, all these and similar policies are consistent and logical.

The reformative principles and measures which have been sketched in my preceding article are adapted to meet specifically all the main abuses of our present industrial system. In greater or less degree they have all withstood the test of experience. They can be made effective as rapidly as is consistent with the limitations of human nature, the lessons of history, and justice to all classes of the community.

When their full results have been attained; when a decent minimum of working and living conditions has been secured to all persons; when the great majority of all the workers possess some share in the means of production; when economic opportunity has become equitably distributed, through industrial education and the abolition of private monopoly; when no capital is able to get more than the competitive or ordinary rate of interest; when unusual profits are possible only to those directors of industry who in active competition with their fellows can produce unusually large amounts of product; and when the working class is in a position to secure an ever-increasing share of the national product, up to the limit of industrial resources and social well-being—then there will be nothing left of the social question except that healthy measure of discontent which is a condition of all individual development and social progress.

THE NEXT STEP FORWARD

My opponent attributes to me the thought that, when the reforms that I have advocated had been realized, social progress would stop and the workers become "passive and contented." But have I not explicitly repudiated that supposition in the

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statement that the workers would be in a position to go farther, and obtain an indefinitely increasing share of the national product? How much farther they would be enabled to progress, I can not tell. I am not a prophet. I can only indicate the next important step, which seems to be continuous with the past, and to be authorized by experience. Possibly the process will go on until interest as we now have it will be for the most part abolished. I hope so, but I believe that this result will be reached not through Socialism, but through the direct ownership of the greater part of the instruments of production by the workers themselves by such methods as co-partnership schemes and cooperative societies.

And I submit that this will be more democratic, more conducive to individual initiative, freedom, and opportunity, and in a hundred ways more desirable than a society in which the State has a monopoly of *all* social power, and in which the individual can act only through the State.

Mr. Hillquit has, therefore, misunderstood my position when he says that I would establish a terminal to social progress "at an indefinite point in the middle of the road." I do not attempt to fix a terminal anywhere, for the simple reason that the facts do not warrant such an attempt.

My opponent does set a limit to industrial evolution, namely, the Socialist State. In so doing he abandons the position of the evolutionist for that of the utopian. I am the more consistent evolutionist because I do not attempt to forecast any final or fixed industrial system. The only utopia of which I know anything is on the other side of the grave.

My opponent contends that Socialism is the logical and necessary outcome and terminus of industrial progress. I do not see either the necessity or the logic; for I am unable to accept the *a priori* social philosophy which underlies Mr. Hillquit's social faith and hope.

We shall see more of this in a later chapter. In the meantime I would observe that this belief in Socialism as the industrial finality is another proof that the Socialist is not more but less scientific than the social reformer.

The debate between ***Mr. Hillquit*** *and* ***Dr. Ryan*** *will be continued in the December number.*

ARE THE TRUSTS EFFICIENT?
IS BIG BUSINESS A BUSINESS SUCCESS, OR A FAILURE?
IS THE UNITED STATES THE MOST PROGRESSIVE AND PROSPEROUS NATION IN THE WORLD?
IS IT LAGGING OR LEADING?
IN THE DECEMBER NUMBER WILLIAM HARD BEGINS A SEARCHING INQUIRY INTO THESE QUESTIONS—THE FIRST INSTALMENT OF A CONSTRUCTIVE SERIES LOOKING TOWARD PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY.

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SOCIALISM: PROMISE *or* MENACE?

A Debate between MORRIS HILLQUIT *and* JOHN AUGUSTINE RYAN, D·D·

Editor's Note:—Are you reading this debate?

Begin now, even if you haven't read the beginning. Each instalment is a complete argument in itself—both sides of one distinct phase of the subject. Last month, in the first instalment following the introduction, the debaters discussed the evils that exist in our present social order. Mr. Hillquit charged them directly to Capitalism, and championed Socialism as the only fundamental remedy. Dr. Ryan, admitting the evils, denied that they are inherent in the capitalist scheme, contended that Capitalism had never been tried at its best, and argued for a program of social reforms.

This month the particular theme for argument is the Socialist Industrial State. How about confiscation? Would Socialism "work?" How would industries fare under a Socialist régime? What about the individual's liberty?—these and a dozen other practical questions are answered—two ways. And each really answers the other. For remember that the debaters have exchanged papers, with the right of making alterations to meet each other's arguments until each should be content.

We believe no clearer, fairer statement of the pro and con of Socialism has ever been published.

III.

THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL STATE AS DR. RYAN SEES IT

THE most important feature of the many-sided thing that we call Socialism is its proposed reorganization of industrial society. This is the goal of Socialist philosophy, Socialist action, Socialist hopes. Is it a desirable goal?

It would replace the present system of private ownership, operation, and distribution by collective ownership and operation of the means of production, and social distribution of the product of industry. Let us see in some detail what this involves, as applied to land and to capital.

"The nearest approach to a *volte-face* which Socialists have made since Marx has been in relation to agrarianism. Marx thought that the advantage of concentrating capital would be felt in agriculture as in other industries, but, in spite of temporary confirmation of this view by the mammoth farms which sprang up in North America, it now appears very doubtful. . . . Recognition of this has led reformists to substitute a policy of actively assisting the peasants for the orthodox policy of leaving them to succumb to capitalism. Their formula is:

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'Collectivize credit, transport, exchange, and all subsidiary manufacture, but individualize culture.'" (Ensor, "Modern Socialism," p. xxxi.)

WHAT THE SOCIALISTS WOULD DO WITH LAND

By a referendum vote of two to one, the Socialist party in the United States adopted in 1909 the following declaration:

. . . "The Socialist party aims to prevent land from being used for the purpose of exploitation and speculation. It demands the collective possession, control, or management of the land to whatever extent may be necessary to attain that end. It is not opposed to the occupation and possession of land by those using it in a bona-fide manner without exploitation" (cited by Walling, "Socialism As It Is," p. 316).

Exploitation, says Walling, means "the employment of laborers, and this is the central point in the Socialist policy" (idem, p. 311). Accordingly, the Socialists of the United States would permit individual occupation and cultivation of land by persons who employed no laborers. Whether they would extend the same privilege to farmers who hired one or two assistants, is not certain. Nor is it of great importance for our discussion.

According to John Spargo, only those instruments which can be owned and operated more efficiently by the State than by private persons or corporations will need to come into the Socialist industrial organization. During the transition to Socialism any private enterprise that can survive in competition with the collectivist concern in the same field may remain undisturbed (Spargo and Arner, "Essentials of Socialism," pp. 242-270; N. Y., 1912).

Were this the ideal and method of "revolution" accepted by the majority of authoritative Socialists, we should not be much concerned about the purely economic theories and projects of Socialism. We should be comforted by the conviction that, outside the field of natural monopolies, the great majority of industries would be more capably conducted by private than by collective agencies, and that all attempts to socialize them by the method of competition would inevitably fail. The average upholder of the system of private capital fears, not fair competition with State industries, but forcible expropriation.

However, the great majority of Socialists would probably refuse to sanction the method proposed by Messrs. Spargo and Arner.

And yet the dominant Socialist thought of the day does seem to admit the possibility of a considerable element of private capital during at least the earlier period of the new order. The oft-quoted passage from Kautsky shows how far even an "orthodox" member of the party is willing to go in this direction:

"Nevertheless, it may be granted that the small industry will have a definite position in the future in many branches of industry that produce directly for human consumption; for the machines manufacture essentially only products in bulk, while many purchasers desire that their personal taste shall be considered. . . . The most manifold property in the means of production—national, municipal, cooperatives of consumption and production, and private—can exist beside each other in a Socialist society; the most diverse forms of organization—bureaucratic, trades-union, cooperative, and individual; the most diverse forms of remuneration of labor—fixed wages, time wages, piece wages, participation in the economies in raw material, machinery, etc., participation in the results of intensive labor; the most diverse forms of circulation of products, like contract by purchase from the warehouses of the State, from municipalities, from cooperatives of production, from the producers themselves, etc., etc. The same manifold character of economic mechanism that exists to-day is possible in a Socialist society" . . . ("The Social Revolution," pp. 164, 166).

Substantially the same views are expressed by Mr. Hillquit ("Socialism in Theory and Practise," p. 113) and Mr. Walling (op. cit., p. 432). As in the matter of land, however, so here, it is not clear whether these writers, or representative Socialists generally, would permit the private producer under Socialism to employ a small number—say, one, two, or three—of wage-earners.

In view of the foregoing paragraphs, those objections against Socialism which are based on the assumption that the scheme would involve collective ownership of *all*, even the smallest instruments of production, have ceased to be pertinent or effective. Antiquated likewise are the

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objections directed against complete confiscation of all private capital; collective ownership of all homes; compulsory assignment of occupations; equality of remuneration; and the use of labor-checks instead of money. So far as I can learn, none of these proposals is now regarded by authoritative Socialists as essential.

Other criticisms of doubtful validity assume the impossibility of forecasting the social demand for commodities and of managing industries of national magnitude. In some fashion both of these difficulties have been met by the great trusts, such as the Standard Oil Company and the United States Steel Corporation.

I shall, therefore, criticize only those features of the Socialist industrial program which seem to be inherently necessary, or which are so regarded by the dominant thought of the Socialist movement to-day. All the objections that I shall urge may be reduced to two propositions, one of which is formally ethical, and the other of which, though immediately concerned with problems of expediency, is ethical fundamentally. The former has to do with the manner of abolishing capitalism; the latter with the injury that would be done to human welfare and human rights by an attempt to carry out the industrial proposals of Socialism.

BUYING OUT THE CAPITALISTS

According to Mr. Hillquit, the majority of Socialist writers now favor compensation of the displaced capitalists, instead of outright and universal confiscation (op. cit., pp. 103, 104). But he is careful to state that they regard the question not as one of justice, but only of expediency. Mr. Walling tells us that Socialists would not interfere with savings-bank accounts, life-insurance policies on a reasonable scale, nor very small pieces of other property, but that they regard as a matter of pure expediency the compensation of the wealthier classes (op. cit., p. 429). His understanding of the Socialist position with reference to the latter owners is that they would get at most only modest annuities, which would cease with the lives of their then living descendants.

If it were systematically carried out, the rule of paying for the capital taken over by the State only when and to the extent that this policy were found to be expedient, would undoubtedly mean that many of the small and weak owners would fare as badly as the rich proprietors. That the principle of expediency would govern the entire process of expropriation, is clearly seen from the refusal of Socialists to commit themselves or the party to a definite program of compensation, and from their practically unanimous contention that only the future can determine whether and how much compensation shall be allowed.

In principle, then, the Socialists deny that the capitalists have any moral right to compensation; in practise they would carry out this principle to the extent dictated by expediency.

WHAT IS CAPITAL?

This principle and this proposed policy are undoubtedly immoral. To ascertain the ethical basis of this conclusion let us examine briefly the four main sources of capital.

One part is the fruit of wages and salaries, and of business gains or profits (as distinct from interest) resulting from exceptional directive and inventive ability in conditions of full and fair competition. Inasmuch as this capital is specifically traceable to labor, whether physical or mental, it has been honestly earned, and ought to be paid for.

A second part of existing capital originated in natural resources and opportunities, such as lands, mines, forests, and franchises, which the State conceded to individuals and corporations through the medium of free and honest contracts. While these grants and contracts may sometimes have been socially unwise, they are as valid in morals as similar acts of individuals. If at a later date the State repudiates them by the process of confiscation, it perpetrates an act of bad faith and immorality.

Another part is the saved and invested proceeds of interest which was obtained without paying unjustly low wages to labor or charging unjustly high prices to consumers. In the opinion of the Socialist this capital was unjustly acquired because the interest from which it sprang always represents a "part of the product of the worker's toil." For the Socialist maintains that *all* interest, no matter how small the rate or how liberally its receiver has acted toward laborer and consumer, is immoral.

In reply to this contention, I would say briefly that interest on capital is justified

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either because capital has contributed a share of the productive force which is realized in the joint product of capital and labor, or because under the system of private capital interest is necessary in order to provide a sufficient amount of capital, and induce the capitalist-undertaker to perform his economic functions. If the day should ever come when private control of capital became detrimental to human welfare, the capitalist would no longer have a right to function as such; but he would still have a valid claim to compensation for the capital that he had acquired through the receipt of interest which had been at once free from extortion and socially necessary. The effect would have the same justification as the cause.

IT IS PROBABLE THAT ONLY A RELATIVELY SMALL PART OF CAPITAL COULD BE CONFISCATED WITH REASONABLE CERTAINTY THAT THE PROCESS WAS MORAL.

Finally, there is a fourth section of capital which has come into being through various forms of injustice, such as physical force, fraudulent contracts, oppression of laborers, and extortion upon consumers. Through the lapse of time, however, and the other long-recognized conditions of *prescription*, a great part of this capital has become the morally and legally valid property of the present owners.

Prescription is a valid title of ownership for the simple reason that it responds to the needs of social and human welfare. To disregard it in the expropriation process would in a very large proportion of cases inflict quite as much injury on innocent individuals as to disregard any of the other titles. As to that part of the unjustly acquired capital which is not clothed with the title of prescription, it could properly, provided that identification of it were possible, be taken without compensation.

Consequently, it is probable that only a relatively small part of capital could be confiscated with reasonable certainty that the process was not immoral.

The fact that governments have occasionally taken individual property without compensation does not justify the practise ethically. On the other hand, I do not mean to deny that it is ever morally legitimate, for example, in some supreme national crisis when no other course is physically possible. But it is a far cry from an exigency of this magnitude to the Socialist principle of mere expediency. By the latter theory the process of confiscation is not required to wait for a critical situation. It can be set in motion as soon as there exists a balance, however slight, of expediency in its favor. Thus the Socialist would entirely obliterate the distinction between right and might.

THE VIOLATION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS IN THE SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

In his encyclical, "On the Condition of Labor," issued May 15, 1891, Pope Leo XIII. declared that Socialism is to be utterly rejected because "contrary to the natural rights of mankind." From the words of the Latin text, "prædium," "terra," "fundus," "ager," "solum," etc., we know that he had in mind specifically the Socialist proposals with regard to *land*. Moreover, he was in all probability thinking of the more extreme plans of that day, which embraced collective *operation*, as well as collective ownership, of all the land of a country.

A régime in which all the cultivators should be employed by the State would certainly be less conducive to human welfare than a system of full ownership and secure possession by individuals. Experience has shown conclusively that the large farm is considerably less profitable than the small or medium-sized farm. If this is the case under the direction of the private owner, it would hold to a greater extent under salaried management in a Socialist organization.

Moreover, the cultivators would not work as intelligently or as energetically as they do under the incentive of private ownership. Beyond all other workers, the farmer is influenced by the desire to own and hold permanently the thing upon which and with

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which he labors. Such a thoroughgoing form of agrarian collectivism would undoubtedly be detrimental to individual and social welfare.

Therefore, it would be a violation of natural rights. As against other individuals and the State, man has an inborn right to control and use the bounty of nature in the way that will best secure the requisites of reasonable life and self-development. That the existing system has not yet enabled all individuals to attain this object, does not prove that it is not better adapted for the purpose than Socialism; particularly when we consider its recent history, its present trend, and its inherent capacity for improvement.

Even the modified agrarian program of Socialism contains elements which involve a violation of individual rights. Precisely how far this program would extend the individual control of "land of reasonable dimensions actually cultivated or used by the farmer without employment of hired help to any appreciable extent," is not easy to say; for the desire to make converts among the farmers has brought American Socialists to a situation in which "there is a minority ready to compromise everything in this question" (Walling, op. cit., p. 318). However, they still seem to cling to the doctrine that the title to *all* land must remain with the State.

THE SMALL FARMER IN THE SOCIALIST STATE

This would mean that the State could turn out the small farmer at any time deemed expedient, and could, even while it allowed him to remain in possession, tax the land at its full rental value.

That the majority of American Socialists would have the State adopt the latter policy consistently from the beginning, seems to be clear in view of the declarations of the "Communist Manifesto," of Marx, and of other leading members of the party, and in view of the general Socialist principle which condemns private receipt of rent and interest. (cf. Walling, op. cit., pp. 322, 323).

Now State retention of the title means uncertainty of tenure, and therefore injury to the cultivator, while the appropriation of economic rent means confiscation of property values.

So much for the morality of the Socialist program with regard to land. The proposals of the party concerning artificial capital are somewhat more satisfactory to discuss because they have been more definitely and authoritatively formulated. Their ethical character can be determined only through an examination of their bearing upon human welfare. This is the ultimate test of the morality of any social system. In the matter of social institutions, moral values and genuine expediency are in the long run identical. The remainder of this paper will, therefore, deal immediately with the practical side of the Socialist industrial order.

THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL LEADERSHIP

Under Socialism the great national industries, as steel and petroleum, would be under the immediate direction of commissions or boards of managers. Owing to the number of these bodies and the varied character of their functions, they could not be selected with advantage by general popular vote. Conceivably they might be appointed by the national executive authority, but it is unlikely that the people would entrust any group of officials with this tremendous power.

Such an arrangement would enable a few men to control not merely the political but the entire industrial life of the nation, to build up a bureaucracy more despotic than anything of the kind that the world has ever seen, to impose whatever harsh conditions they saw fit upon a minority, yes, upon a majority occasionally, of the industries and workers, and to fortify themselves in a position from which they could not be dislodged except by a revolution.

Present Socialist opinion seems to favor selection of the commissions by the workers in each industry (cf. Hillquit, op. cit., p. 142). Even this method has its own difficulties. In the first place, the great mass of employees in, for example, the steel industry would be much less competent to make an intelligent choice than is the relatively small number of stockholders who at present determine the outcome of an election for the board of directors.

The case is not parallel with the choice of political officials. It is a question of getting technical experts, and even the most democratic among us now realize that such functionaries should be appointed by the mayor, governor, or president, instead of being elected by popular vote.

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In the second place, while the stockholders of a corporation have a direct pecuniary incentive to choose the most efficient directors obtainable, the workers in a Socialist industry would desire men who would make working conditions easy, rather than men who would be bent upon getting out the maximum amount of product.

THE DEADENING EFFECT OF THE ABSENCE OF COMPETITION HAS ALREADY APPEARED IN THE MANAGEMENT OF OUR PRESENT "SOCIALIZED" INDUSTRIES.

Owing to the dependence of the industrial direction upon the mass of the workers, and owing to the absence of certain powerful incentives, the Socialist organization of industry would be inefficient and unprogressive. Directors, superintendents, foremen, and all others in managerial positions would be afraid to punish loafing or to exercise the power of discharge, except in rare and flagrant cases. Even if they were sufficiently fearless to exact a reasonable amount of work from all their subordinates, they would lack the normal and necessary incentive to such a course, and to efficient management generally. They would not have the stimulus of competition which to-day prevents public concerns from falling too far behind those under private control; nor the vital interest in their tasks which arises from ownership and its opportunities of pecuniary gain; nor the hope of promotion and fear of discharge which operate so promptly and powerfully in the present system.

The general spirit of the management would be to "let well enough alone," to refrain from disturbing either the personnel or the methods of industry, so long as things moved on in the old routine way and continued to approximate a certain level of mediocrity.

Indeed, the deadening effect of the absence of competition has already appeared in the management of our present "socialized" industries. In every great industry there is a maximum size of plant which is efficient and economical, and a maximum number of plants which can be profitably combined under a single direction. Mr. Brandeis has shown that in the United States Steel Corporation the lack of competition has more than offset the gains of combination, while Professor Meade sums up the general failure of the trusts thus:

"During a decade of unparalleled industrial development, the trusts, starting with every advantage of large capital, well-equipped plants, financial connections, and skilled superintendence, have not succeeded" (*The Journal of Political Economy*, April, 1912, p. 366).

If this can happen when the management is financially interested in the business, it would prevail to a far greater degree in the absence of this powerful stimulus. The driving force of competition and the hope of prompt pecuniary rewards can be supplemented but not supplanted by other and loftier motives and stimuli.

In the field of industrial invention the lack of adequate incentive would be particularly harmful. Men who were capable of inventing new machines, new processes, new ways of combining capital and labor, could expect neither the gains that are obtainable under the system of private ownership, nor that prompt and eager recognition by the industrial authorities which is such a conspicuous feature of privately directed concerns.

It is contended that the manager and the inventor will be impelled to bring out the best that is in them by the hope of public honor and recognition, and by the special pecuniary compensations that will be possible even under Socialism. The example of Colonel Goethals, who has successfully directed the building of the Panama Canal on a relatively moderate salary, is cited by way of illustration.

It merely illustrates a typical Socialist fallacy, namely, that what the exceptional man does in exceptional circumstances will be done by the ordinary man in ordinary circumstances. Colonel Goethals is an officer in the army. Now the traditions and training of the army have for centuries impressed upon its members strong conceptions

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of public service, honor, and professional duty and responsibility. Moreover, the task upon which he is engaged is conspicuous beyond all others, and without any competitor for public honor and esteem.

To assume that the average member of an industrial board of managers, the average factory superintendent, or the average floor-walker in a store would respond as readily to the motive of public honor as the army officer, and that the every-day activities of the tens of thousands of men in positions of industrial authority would attract sufficient public notice and recognition to be worth seeking or considering—implies a childlike faith that is touching but not convincing. The cold fact is that there would not be enough public honor and recognition to go round the circle of industrial management, or it would have to be spread so thinly that very few of its beneficiaries would hold it very precious.

As to the special pecuniary rewards that might be given, they would lose much of their effectiveness because of tardiness in arriving. Merit is much more promptly recognized in private than in public employments, on account of the direct financial interest of those from whom the recognition must come.

THE PROBLEM OF EFFORT AND EFFICIENCY AMONG THE RANK AND FILE

Since the great mass of the workers would have the ultimate control over the management and managers of industry, they would strive to make the conditions of employment as pleasing as possible to themselves. This would mean that the majority of them would prefer an industrial administration which would permit a considerable amount of "loafing on the job," and which would separate them from their jobs only in the most flagrant cases of shirking and inefficiency. Engaged as they must be upon tasks which are monotonous, mechanical, and relatively uninteresting, the great majority would be impervious to the "joy of work," would fail to find that pleasure and work were one, and would see no good reason for putting forth anything like the degree of effort that is to-day exacted under penalty of discharge.

This reasoning is not based on "the theological conception that the sole human incentive to do right is the fear of punishment or the hope of reward." In the first place, there is no such conception; for the theologian gives full recognition to the existence and efficacy of higher motives. But he is not afraid to look facts in the face, and to read therein the lesson that the higher motives can neither entirely supplant nor even reduce to a secondary position the motives of reward and punishment in the mind and will of the average man. The theologian is sufficiently scientific to put a higher value upon universal experience than upon enthusiastic hopes.

The contention that the worker will find sufficient incentive of a material character in being "a partner in the industrial enterprise in which he will be employed," is based on the fallacy that remote and general interests affect the individual as powerfully as immediate and specific interests. There is a vast difference between "partnership" in a Socialist industry, which after all is owned by the State, and ownership in a definite portion of a private industry.

In the latter case the worker realizes that his energy and efficiency have a direct bearing upon his income; in the former he knows that he may take things easy, and still retain his place and his stipulated remuneration. Although he may be convinced that in the long run the policy of universal shirking will be harmful to his industry, he feels that the "long run" is too long and too remote to offset the immediate and practical advantages of being as lazy as he dares to be. Besides, he expects that there will be other industries and other jobs in the limitless expanse of Socialist economy. And he has no assurance that if he were to put forth his best efforts his example would be generally imitated by his fellows in his own or in other industries.

To the average worker, partnership in a Socialist industry would seem about as important as efficient local or national government seems to the average citizen. The latter is much less interested in civic welfare than in his job, business, or profession.

SOCIALISM *vs.* COOPERATION

To the objection that his scheme has never been justified by actual trial, the Socialist sometimes replies by pointing to the successful cooperative establishments under democratic management in Belgium, Germany, and England. As a matter of

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fact, the history of the cooperative movement in its entirety furnishes a rather strong argument against Socialism. Practically all the successful efforts in this field have been in connection with cooperatives of *distribution*. Cooperative production has been attempted in many countries, but "the record on the whole is one of failure" (Taussig, "Principles of Economics," vol. II, p. 356; N. Y., 1912).

The simple and sufficient reason is that these enterprises are much more complicated, and require a much higher quality of leadership and management than distributive concerns. As yet, not many of the men who possess these qualities can be induced to exercise them without the spur of a dominating pecuniary interest in the establishment.

Nevertheless, I believe that a sufficient number of such men will in time be found to direct cooperative enterprises over a considerable, though restricted, part of the field of production. This result can be reached only very gradually, through appropriate industrial and moral enlightenment. And it will, I believe, be realized only in the smaller industries, those in which the individual worker can easily see that his actions will have a vital and direct bearing on the success of the whole enterprise. In the larger industries labor participation in capital ownership will necessarily take the form of copartnership. That is, the worker will be a shareholder rather than a genuine cooperator.

NO SUBSTITUTE FOR COMPETITION

Even if productive cooperation had been invariably successful it would not be of much value as an argument for Socialism. The differences between the two are more important than the resemblances. In the former each of the workers has direct ownership of a definite share of the concern, and an immediate pecuniary interest in its profits and its fortunes. Moreover, he realizes that it must compete with similar enterprises under both cooperative and private control. Under Socialism none of these conditions is verified. The worker is interested only in his job and his wages.

Of these the first depends ultimately upon a board of managers chosen by the workers themselves, while the second is fixed beforehand by the central executive or legislative authority, and is only remotely and feebly dependent upon the conduct of the individual laborer. Consequently, the interest of the laborer in the financial success of his industry is very general and very remote as compared with that of the participant in a cooperative concern.

To sum up the preceding paragraphs: Competition, the hope of definite personal reward, and the fear of definite personal loss, which experience has shown to be extremely powerful forces in economic life, would either disappear or be greatly diminished under Socialism. And the Socialist is unable to provide adequate substitutes.

DIMINISHED FREEDOM OF ECONOMIC CHOICES

In the present economic organization, the farmer, laborer, manufacturer, merchant, etc., are not compelled to deal as buyers or as sellers with any single individual or association. Nor are they constrained in the majority of instances to accept or to pay a predetermined price. Through the process of bargaining they can exercise some control over this supremely important economic factor. While the trusts have greatly curtailed the bargaining power of the individual with regard to many commodities, they will cease to do so just as soon as the people and the government seriously and systematically undertake the task of checking them. This task has not yet been fairly begun.

Under Socialism all prices, whether of labor or of goods, except in the relatively unimportant individual and cooperative enterprises, would be fixed beforehand by the public authorities. For the great majority of workers, wages and all other conditions of employment would be determined by legislative or executive enactment of the national or local governments. There could be no competition in this field between the two governmental jurisdictions. Hence the laborer would be compelled to work for practically one employer. As consumers, men would have to purchase at a predetermined price from a single seller, and to take the kind and quality of goods that the public authorities saw fit to produce.

At present a man can get anything that he has the money to pay for. A Socialist régime would feel no inducement to develop new wants nor to satisfy old ones in new ways. The tendency would be overwhelming to turn out only the old and standard

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kinds of goods. The combined effect of all these restrictions on the buying and selling power of the individual would be disastrous to self-respect, self-development, social contentment, and social stability.

To be sure, the ultimate control of all these industrial arrangements would be in the hands of the people, who could correct all possible abuses. In practise, however, the people always means a part of the people. In the Socialist State the majority would have unlimited power over not merely the political but also the economic welfare of the minority. To-day industrial life is controlled by the government or the majority only indirectly, and within well-defined limits. A hundred checks and counterchecks are set up by private individuals, private associations, private institutions. Under Socialism all these safeguards would disappear, and substantially all social power would be concentrated in the Leviathan, the Omnipotent State.

THE MENACE OF FIXED MAJORITIES

The prediction that "there will be no fixed majorities and minorities in all matters," is not reassuring in view of the inevitable contrary tendency. A majority composed of all the workers in the most powerful industries could combine for the purpose of fixing all wages and prices to favor themselves and oppress the minority. Such a combination would be remarkably cohesive and homogeneous, since it would represent the interests of all its members in the matters of politics, industry, the schools, and the press. Its personnel could easily remain substantially unchanged until it and the entire system was dissolved in a revolution.

To assert that at present "the capitalist minority dominates the non-capitalist majority in all matters," is to ignore the immense gains made by the masses on the classes in the past, the very real limitations upon capitalist power to-day, and the far greater restrictions that can and will be put upon it to-morrow, without recourse to the other autocracy called Socialism. We are not compelled to choose between the latter and a rampant Capitalism.

IMPERILED LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

Who is to own the printing-presses? The danger of handing them all over to the national Socialist authorities is recognized by Kautsky:

"It is true that the governmental power will cease to be a class organ, but will it not still be the organ of a majority? Can the intellectual life be made dependent upon the decisions of a majority?" (op. cit., p. 177.)

In this field, at least, he admits that "the people" is not a homogeneous entity, that the interests of all its parts are not identical. He would restrict the power of the national majority by placing a part of the machinery of printing and publication under the control of municipalities and of co-operative associations. But the cities would likewise be dominated by the majority, while the cooperative societies would require every worker to be also a partial owner.

No individual could own or publish a newspaper, because he would not be permitted to "exploit" the number of workers necessary to operate the establishment. No group of individuals could do so unless they included a sufficient force of laborer-proprietors. From the viewpoint, not of the individuals who might desire to own newspapers, but of social welfare, these restrictions would constitute a very dangerous limitation upon the freedom of printed expression.

MONOPOLY OF EDUCATION

While Socialists do not explicitly demand that all education should be given in state schools, they would evidently look with favor upon such an arrangement. "Compulsory attendance at public national schools," which is among the articles of the "Erfurt Program," would seem to leave little scope for private schools of any sort (cf. the comments of Liebknecht on this demand in "Socialism: What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish," pp. 56-58). When the average Socialist discusses education in his future state, he is rarely able to conceal his intention that there shall be only one kind of school and one kind of scholastic training. This would be the most blighting of all state monopolies.

To resume the main contentions and conclusions of this article: The Socialist Industrial State must be set down as immoral, inasmuch as it involves the doctrine that compensation to capitalists is a matter of mere expediency, and because it would prove economically, politically, and intellectually injurious to individual and social welfare.

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MR. HILLQUIT'S VIEW OF INDUSTRIES UNDER SOCIALISM

IT IS a pessimistic and uninviting picture which Dr. Ryan sketches under the title "The Socialist Industrial State." But does the fault lie with the Socialist plan of industrial organization, or is it to be found in the glasses through which my distinguished opponent views it?

A concise statement of the Socialist industrial program will help to answer that question.

Socialism stands for the *collective* ownership of the *social* tools of work. Let us consider the two adjectives in this definition in their inverse order.

A *social* tool is one used in the modern process of wholesale production and distribution of commodities. As a rule it is bulky, complex, and costly. The *individual* tool, on the other hand, is independent and self-sufficient. It is usually simple and inexpensive.

THE SOCIALIZED TOOL

The distinction is vital, for the main *raison d'être* of the modern Socialist movement rests on the comparatively recent change in the character of the tool, from *individual* into *social*.

Factory work and other forms of mass production, as well as the prevailing system of wholesale distribution of commodities, are of very modern origin, and they are all based on the introduction of the social tool. The pre-capitalist era is one of individual tools, independent producers, and direct personal dealing.

The mechanic of the eighteenth century plies his trade in his home or in a small workshop; alone, or with one or more apprentices. He owns the tools of his trade and the raw material. He works for the "customer" with whom he makes his own bargain; he goes through the entire process of manufacture, and his success and prosperity depend solely on his own skill and industry.

But gradually the modern machine makes its appearance, and the industrial structure of society and the social relations of men are thoroughly revolutionized. The huge steam- or electricity-driven machine, the "iron workman" of colossal frame, unerring aim, and a hundred indefatigable arms throws the helpless individual tool of former generations into the scrap-heap; it shatters the private workshop, and destroys the independence of the worker.

The modern machine creates the factory, and the factory assembles under its roof the tool-less artisans and mechanics, stripping them of their economic individuality and drilling them into an industrial army of uniform rank and collective functions. And what the factory does in the field of production, the railroad and steamboat accomplish with equal thoroughness in the sphere of distribution.

Henceforward the worker is separated from the tool. He can not pay the high cost of modern machinery and equipment, and it would avail him little if he could, because machine industry is not adapted to individual operation. The logical solution of this predicament would seem to be the joint ownership of all such machinery by all of the workers, or, what amounts to the same, by the entire nation organized for the management and control of social production.

FOR COLLECTIVE WORK

As the countless individual tools have gradually become merged in the one great system of modern social machinery, so should the tool-ownership of the individual workers converge in the collective ownership by the entire working fraternity. In other words, the ownership and control of modern machinery should be socialized, just as its use and operation have been socialized by the inherent forces of industrial development.

This is the claim of Socialism.

It is a claim based entirely on the social character of the modern tool, and by parity of reasoning it extends only so far as the tools are social in character. Socialism demands the collective ownership and social operation of such industries as depend on the use of social tools and are organized on the basis of collective work; it is not concerned with purely individual pursuits or vocations.

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WHAT IS "COLLECTIVE" OWNERSHIP?

Socialism thus stands for the collective ownership of the social tools as above defined, and for the collective operation of the industries based on such tools.

This program does not involve a centralized national organization for the management of the industrial processes of the country. The plan of collective ownership and operation is quite consistent with a system of graded authority and divided functions in accordance with the peculiar situation and requirements of each industry. Thus the national government might well own and operate all means of interstate transportation and communication, such as railroad systems and telegraph and telephone lines; all sources of general national wealth, such as mines, forests, and oil-wells; and all monopolized or trustified industries already organized on a basis of national operation.

Similarly, the state government might assume the few industries confined within state limits; while the municipal government would logically undertake the management of the much wider range of peculiarly local business, such as street transportation and the supply of water, light, heat, and power.

Still other local industries, too insignificant or unorganized even for municipal operation, might be left to voluntary cooperative enterprises under proper regulations for the protection of the cooperators and the consumers, while, as Dr. Ryan quite properly states, a large number of purely individual trades and callings might continue to be exercised by private individuals or concerns in competition with each other—so long as their operation does not involve the exploitation of labor.

Nor does the Socialist plan of industrial organization contemplate a centralization of plants "under a single direction" for every great industry. There is nothing in the Socialist program or plan of industrial organization that would prevent the management of any industry from several independent or coordinate centers, if such management should prove more profitable and efficient.

And, finally, the proposed socialization of industries does not necessarily involve the method of confiscation. The people could well afford to compensate the capitalists to the full extent of the actual value of their industrial properties. The national indebtedness created by such payment would be extinguished within a very short time from the increased returns of the industries themselves, and the nation left unencumbered and unshackled, free to work out its own destinies.

AS TO "CONFISCATION"

With this brief amplification of Dr. Ryan's outline of the Socialist plan of industrial organization, let us proceed to the examination of his objections to it.

The first ground of Dr. Ryan's opposition to the Socialist program relates to the methods by which the collective ownership of the industries is to be acquired.

As I have stated above, and as Dr. Ryan admits, the Socialists are not committed to the method of confiscation. They advocate to-day, and under normal conditions will continue to advocate, full compensation to the expropriated capitalists. But the Socialists refuse to make bargains with the future, and point to the well-known historical fact that some of the greatest advances in human progress and popular liberty have been accompanied by summary confiscation of privileges and property. Thus the sublimest act in American history, the emancipation of the negro slaves, was accomplished by the grossest method of confiscation.

Dr. Ryan admits that in some supreme national crisis, when no other course is "physically possible," confiscation may be "morally legitimate;" but he assumes that the Socialists would be ready to resort to that process before the crisis should become sufficiently acute, not as a matter of "physical" necessity, but as a measure of social expediency. This view he brands as "immoral." Is it?

WHO ARE THE CONFISCATORS?

The term *confiscation* may be defined as the legal appropriation of a person's property without adequate compensation. It may be accomplished by means of a summary decree, or legislative enactment, or by a slow and gradual process. In this, the only proper sense of the term, the capitalist system owes its existence to a series of the most continuous, wholesale, and unscrupulous acts of confiscation, and the individual

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capitalists are expert and habitual confiscators. Our landed aristocracy has confiscated the land of the people by acts of fraud, violence, and corruption familiar to every student of American economic history, and our great manufacturers and railroad magnates have similarly, though less obviously, confiscated the national instruments of wealth production and distribution.

In an effort to prove that the majority of the capitalists hold their wealth legitimately Dr. Ryan mentions and attempts to justify four "main sources" of capital.

Let us briefly examine these alleged sources.

The item of *interest* may be disposed of without much argument, since the mention of interest as a source of capital is obviously putting the cart before the horse. Interest can only be drawn on previously acquired capital. It is the fruit of capital, not its source.

As to the modern fortunes made through "wages and salaries," they figure very large in Sunday-school sermons and conventional text-books of political economy, but hardly ever in Dun's or Bradstreet's. Capitalist wealth is made not by earning wages, but by paying wages, and the greater the pay-roll of the capitalist, the larger are his profits. In other words, the "wages and salaries" which the capitalist saves are not his own, but those of his employees.

The large manufacturer who does not owe his profits to an artificial monopoly, an iniquitous protective tariff, or corrupt government contracts is probably Dr. Ryan's ideal type of the "honest" business man, and his profits are legitimate "business gains resulting from exceptional directive and inventive ability in conditions of full and fair competition." But if such manufacturer should return to his employees the equivalent of all they produce, he would soon go bankrupt. The only way by which he can amass wealth is to pay to his workers a wage amounting to less than the value of their product and to retain the difference as profits.

Thus the honest capitalist confiscates part of the product of the worker's toil. And this process of confiscation is still at work among us; it goes on uninterruptedly day by day, and is directed against the most needy and helpless. It robs the working man of the comforts of life, the working woman of her home and fireside, and the working child of youth and joy—it is the meanest of all methods of confiscation.

"LEGALIZED" THEFT

Another source of capital mentioned by Dr. Ryan is "natural resources and opportunities, such as land, mines, forests, and franchises, which the State conceded to individuals and corporations through the medium of free and honest contracts." My adversary defends all wealth derived through that source as "valid in morals" in the hands of the present owners, even though the original grants may have been "socially unwise."

Thus, if an irresponsible ruler or an improvident legislature several generations ago has seen fit to "give away" the earth and its treasures to a few favored individuals, we, who have come into this world a century or more after the "grantors" have turned into dust, must continue paying tribute to a new generation of men who happen to descend from the fortunate original "grantees." We must accept as "valid in morals" the theory that the sources of life of the whole human race and of all generations to come may be mortgaged to a few chosen individuals and their offspring forever, and that the people have no right to free themselves from this most subtle form of indirect slavery except upon the payment of a heavy ransom.

> THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OWES ITS EXISTENCE TO A SERIES OF WHOLESALE AND UNSCRUPULOUS ACTS OF CONFISCATION.

And finally, Dr. Ryan claims full compensation as a right even for the majority of capitalists, whose wealth has originated "through various forms of injustice, such as physical force, fraudulent contracts, oppression of laborers, and extortion upon consumers," on the ground that property thus "acquired" has become legal and valid

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in the hands of the present owners either because they are "innocent" third parties or through *prescription.*

This doctrine has been asserted by the Supreme Court of the United States, and has probably caused greater social disaster than any other decision of that august tribunal. What the principle means in effect is this:

If you are robbed of your watch by one highwayman, of your coat by another, and of your shirt by a third, you may recover all these articles so long as each of the gentlemen of the road retains the identical article of his original "acquisition;" but if they interchange the articles between themselves, your claim is extinguished, because your stolen property has passed into the hands of "third parties." If no such exchange takes place, and each thief holds on to the article of his choice long enough, he acquires "title by prescription," which all future generations are bound to respect.

The two doctrines which Dr. Ryan thus upholds—the perpetual validity of public grants and title by prescription—are the doctrines upon which all forms of robbery and slavery have ever been defended. The Socialists reject them as shockingly immoral, and against them they assert the *inalienable* right of the human race to the earth and the fulness thereof, and the equal claim to life and enjoyment of every child born into the world.

If the Socialists nevertheless advocate compensation to the owners of capital, they do so purely for reasons of social expediency—acting on the same principle as the man who has been robbed of his purse in a street-car, and who offers a reward to the "honest finder" with the significant assurance—"and no questions asked."

LAND-OWNERSHIP

The other moral ground of Dr. Ryan's objection to the Socialist program relates to its scheme of land-ownership.

As Dr. Ryan hints, Socialists regard land-ownership in a dual aspect.

Land of reasonable dimensions actually cultivated or used by the farmer without employment of hired help to any appreciable extent, is an instrument of labor analogous to the individual tool, and land used for private dwellings is an article of use rather than an instrument of production. The Socialists are not opposed to the exclusive private use and occupation of such lands; nor would they tax them to the full extent of their value, as Dr. Ryan assumes.

But they condemn utterly the private ownership and exclusive control of land used for business purposes—rent-producing land—and they insist that the ultimate title to *all* land remain in the state.

Is this position really so revolting as to shock the moral sense of good people? It seems to me quite obvious that of all species of human wealth land is the most "natural." Whether it was created in the perennial process of cosmic evolution or at the sudden behest of an Almighty Creator, it can hardly be argued that it was intended as a special and exclusive gift to the landlord class, to be parceled out by them into city lots and acreage plots and let to their fellow-men in return for heavy rents.

"As against other individuals and the State, man has an inborn right to control and use the bounty of nature in the way that will best secure the requisites of reasonable life and self-development," maintains Dr. Ryan in this connection. With this statement I fully agree, but my distinguished opponent and I differ in the application of the obvious ethical principle.

Dr. Ryan seems to employ the term "man" as synonymous with "landlord," while I am inclined to include also within that designation the non-landed species of the human. It is because the Socialists believe that *all* men have the right "to control and use the bounty of nature in a way that will best secure the requisites of their reasonable life and self-development," that they object to the system of private land-ownership, which allows a minority of the population to monopolize that bounty and to exclude the majority from its enjoyment.

Dr. Ryan's apprehension that a Socialist State would "turn out the small farmer at any time deemed expedient," is quite gratuitous. Under a system of governmentally owned land the tenure of the bona-fide tiller of the soil will certainly be more secure than it is to-day, when the majority of small farmers depend on the mercy of the mortgagor or landlord.

Passing from moral considerations to practical grounds, Dr. Ryan asserts that the Socialist plan of industrial organization

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would be detrimental to the economic life of the country.

MANAGEMENT UNDER SOCIALISM

Socialism advocates not only collective ownership but also democratic administration of the industries. In practical application this principle must be interpreted to mean that under a Socialist régime the workers in each industry will have a voice in the selection of the managing authorities and in the formulation of the main features of industrial policy, subject to such general laws and regulations as will be necessary to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole.

This, of course, does not imply that the workers will elect each shop foreman or factory superintendent, or that the managing authorities will fix in advance a uniform scale of wages or a uniform labor-day for each group of employees. It is not at all unlikely that in its practical workings the Socialist industrial democracy will be somewhat similar to the forms of our present political democracy. The workers in each industry may periodically select the managing authority with power to make appointments and to fix rules. Such elected board or body may consist of shop representatives, and these would be better judges of the qualifications of the chief manager or executive committee of the industry than the bankers who now control the directorates of the great corporations.

SOCIALISM DEMANDS THE COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION OF SUCH INDUSTRIES AS DEPEND ON THE USE OF SOCIAL TOOLS.

Dr. Ryan assures us that under such a system of democratic administration the worker would "loaf on the job," since he would have neither the hope of better wages nor the fear of discharge to spur him on to the proper performance of his duties; the management would be lax and inefficient, since the "directors of industry" would have no direct, personal interest in its prosperity and would be unduly subservient to the whims of the working "rank and file;" the men of inventive genius would not exert their talents for the advance of industrial progress, since they would have no pecuniary incentive to do so; production would become stagnant in quality and curtailed in quantity, since it would lack the vitalizing element of private ownership and competition.

The reasoning is based, on the one hand, upon the theological conception that the sole human incentive to do right is the fear of punishment or hope of reward, and the materialistic notion that the most stimulating reward is a straight money-compensation right here and now, and, on the other, upon the assumption that a Socialist order could offer no adequate reward for special efforts.

The Socialists maintain that the converse of both propositions is true. Under the present system the worker does not share in the benefits of increased or improved production of labor. Such benefits go exclusively to the capitalist in the shape of larger profits, and the worker has nothing but his scant wage, his taxing, often perilous work, and his unattractive factory-surroundings. Under those conditions the sheer instinct of self-preservation necessarily impels him to "loaf on the job."

Under a system of Socialism each worker will be a partner in the industrial enterprise in which he will be employed, sharing in its prosperity and losses alike; and, since he will have a voice in the management, he will certainly see to it that his work is surrounded by reasonable safeguards and sanitary and attractive conditions.

Nor is there any reason why the individual employee under Socialism should not be compensated in accordance with his skill, diligence, and general merit. The worker will thus have a direct pecuniary incentive as well as a moral stimulus to put forth his best efforts. The manager and the inventor will have the greatest of all stimuli—public honor and recognition, and there is no reason why they should not also be rewarded by special pecuniary compensations under a Socialist system.

It is thus as easy for the Socialist to draw an optimistic picture of the Socialist Industrial State as it is for the anti-Socialist

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to paint it in lurid colors. But while the latter is only a cheerful guess, the former is based on experience and proved examples.

The Socialist State has, of course, never been "tried;" but cooperative production under democratic management, very much along the lines advocated by the Socialists for all industries, has been tested and has amply demonstrated its superiority over capitalist enterprises.

The famous Belgian cooperative societies, the "Maison du Peuple," the "Vooruit," and the "Progrès," are among the largest and most successful business concerns of their country. They have been built up by workingmen from ridiculously small beginnings, and are still managed by thousands of workers, their members and employees, in the most efficient manner. The "Zentral Verein" of Germany, a cooperative distributive society, with an annual business of more than 300,000,000 marks, is successfully managed by its 900,000 workingmen members; and the same tale may be told of the English "Cooperative Wholesale Society," which represents an accumulated capital of $37,000,000, and employs 21,000 members; and the numerous cooperative workingmen's enterprises in many other countries of Europe tell the same tale.

Dr. Ryan's retort that the workers have been more successful in cooperative societies of distribution than in those of production does not meet the point. It only proves that the latter require more capital than the former. But distributive cooperatives depend on management, skill, and industry as much as any other business enterprises, and their success goes to show that these factors may develop in a very large degree without the alleged stimulus of capitalist competition.

And there is no lack of efficient and brilliant leadership in these enterprises, nor is there such lack of leadership even in present government work.

The most notable feat accomplished in modern times is, beyond any doubt, the construction of the Panama Canal. The United States Government took hold of a strip of land barren of life and civilization, of unendurable climate and pestilential atmosphere. Within a few years the country was transformed by the touch of the miracle-producing wand of the magician. The dread epidemic of yellow fever was effectively checked; large, shady, and comfortable dwellings were erected; railroads, telegraph and telephone lines were constructed; and a powerful working force of all grades of skill and ability was assembled.

The workers in the Canal Zone receive better wages and better treatment than their fellow workers in the States; they are provided with free furnished quarters; they receive free medical treatment; all articles of food and clothing are sold to them at cost; and they are provided with club-houses, libraries, and other means of diversion.

The efficiency of the management and of the working force in the Canal Zone has probably never been excelled, and as a result the most stupendous engineering feat of ages has been accomplished within an incredibly short time.

"EXCEPTIONAL CASES"

This task has been accomplished by the Government of the United States operating through a Canal Commission, and the practical work has been in charge of a government employee—Colonel George Goethals. A capitalist syndicate had attempted the task and abandoned it as hopeless; a capitalist contractor had undertaken to supply the requisite labor to the American Government and failed; a capitalist concern had contracted to provide the Canal workers with food, and had likewise failed. And still our social philosophers prate about the "unprogressiveness" and "inefficiency" of collective or government work, and the impossibility of securing adequate industrial leadership without extortionate money compensation. Colonel Goethals's salary is probably less than that of many a successful commercial drummer, and the efficient managers of the most stupendous cooperative enterprises as a rule content themselves with salaries ranging from twenty to forty dollars per week.

"But," says Dr. Ryan, in reply to this point, "the construction of the Panama Canal is an exceptional case and Colonel Goethals is an exceptional person. He is an officer of the army, and the traditions and training of the army have for centuries impressed upon its members strong conceptions of public service, honor, and professional duty and responsibility."

Quite so, dear doctor, only this alleged objection to Socialism seems to me rather to be one of the strongest arguments in its

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favor. Take the army as seen by Dr. Ryan. It is made up of average human beings, influenced by human motives and subject to all the laws of the familiar bugaboo of "human nature." Still the army is not dominated by motives of material gain. Through years of training it has developed the higher stimuli of honor and public responsibility.

Is Dr. Ryan quite sure that our captains of industry, our inventive, directive, and executive geniuses are hopelessly impervious to these nobler motives of action? Is it not possible that they are to-day sordid and selfish only because "their tradition and training have for centuries impressed upon them strong conceptions" of the all-importance of the dollar and of indifference to public duties and responsibilities?

The Socialists believe that the business of sustaining life is a social function at least equal in importance to that of destroying life; and they are convinced that a sane and just economic régime will develop in the industrial army conceptions of duty and honor superior to those prevailing in the military army.

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

And finally Dr. Ryan expresses the fear that a Socialist régime would curtail the individual liberty of the citizen. He assures us that under Socialism the buying and selling prices of all commodities, as well as the scale of all wages, would be determined by a "few men" or by "one or at most two employing authorities," and that there would thus be "no place for bargaining;" that the majority would exercise undue powers over the minority, and that the liberty of the press would be destroyed, since no individual would be permitted to own and publish a newspaper.

There is nothing in the Socialist program to warrant the assertion that prices and wages would be fixed by an independent or autocratic authority. It is more consonant with the general Socialist plan of industrial organization and management to assume that whatever prices and wages will be fixed, will be fixed through legislative enactment by authorized representatives of the people and with due regard to the interests of the consumer and worker, somewhat after the manner in which the charges and rates of certain public-service corporations are now determined by law. Is not that preferable to having prices fixed arbitrarily and secretly by trusts and monopolies?

"Under the present system," Dr. Ryan observes, "a man can get anything he has the money to pay for." With equal truth he might have stated the negative of the same proposition: "Under the present system men can get nothing unless they have the money to pay for it." And mighty few persons have it.

I am also not very much alarmed over the prospect of the majority dominating the minority. It is indispensable for the stability of a social organization that a part of the people defer occasionally to the opinions or wishes of their fellow-citizens. Under Socialism the minority will submit to the majority in matters of common concern, but there will be no fixed majorities and minorities in all matters, since there will be no fixed economic classes with opposing interests. Under the present régime the capitalist minority dominates the non-capitalist majority in all matters at all times. Which is to be preferred?

Nor are Dr. Ryan's fears of a Socialist "Monopoly of Education" well grounded. A Socialist State would, of course, make ample provisions for the education of children, but there is no reason why it should not allow the widest latitude to parents in the selection of studies and instructors. The Socialist demand for compulsory attendance at public schools relates to the present state, and is made for the purpose of securing a minimum of education to all children.

And finally, as to the imperiled liberty of the press. It is probably true that under Socialism no individual could own a newspaper. Nor could he own a church or university. But it must be remembered that even under Capitalism there are those of us who must forego the convenience of owning a daily newspaper, and that under Socialism there will be no reason why any group or school of art, science, politics, or religion could not publish a periodical for the advancement of their views.

On the whole it seems to me that the "tyranny" of Socialism can not but afford a very substantial relief from the "individual liberty" of Capitalism.

*The next instalment of the debate on "**Socialism: Promise or Menace?**" will appear in the January number.*

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SOCIALISM:

PROMISE *or* MENACE?

A Debate between
MORRIS HILLQUIT
and
JOHN AUGUSTINE RYAN. D·D·

Editor's Note:—This is the fourth topic of the debate. The first number contained the outline, by each contender, of the points to be discussed; the second covered the Socialist Indictment; the third explained and attacked, in turn, the Socialist State. Now comes the Philosophy of Socialism—outlined and dissected.

Perhaps we ought to emphasize here the fact that the above subdivisions are those determined by the two authors themselves, quite without disagreement, as the natural ones. From the reader's point of view this is most advantageous, since it means that the contenders must argue the same points in each issue, and that within the course of the series the whole range of Socialism will have been covered.

IV

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM

BY MORRIS HILLQUIT

THE Socialist movement is supported by a set of social and economic doctrines which, taken together, constitute its "theory" or "philosophy."

The theory occupies a large place in modern Socialism. It lends scientific sanction to the movement, formulates its aims, and aids in the shaping of its methods. But with all that, its importance is not paramount. Socialism is not identified with its theoretical doctrines in the same sense as a school of abstract philosophy or science. The Socialist movement did not spring from a philosophical doctrine, and its fate does not depend entirely upon the correctness or incorrectness of any of its social theories. Socialism is a movement of living human beings. It is directed toward definite economic and political ends, and was engendered by concrete social conditions rooted in modern society. The Socialist philosophy takes the movement as it finds it. It analyzes its causes, defines its goal, and maps out its course. But it does not create it any more than astronomy creates the planetary system.

Following the course of the practical

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movement, from its first faltering steps in the beginning of the last century to its present state of vigorous maturity, the Socialist philosophy has passed through many phases of development until it has reached its modern definite aspect. As in all other lines of thought, the evolution was accomplished by a host of students and thinkers, each contributing his mite to the general store of knowledge and thus accumulating the material from which a great synthetic mind could erect the solid structure of a scientific system.

In the case of Socialism such a master-builder appeared in due course of time in the person of Karl Marx, a German scholar of unusual attainments, whose principal activity extended from the forties to the eighties of the last century. To Karl Marx, his associates and disciples, belongs the credit of having stripped theoretical Socialism of its original fantastic and visionary garb, and having built up a system of Socialist philosophy on solid and realistic foundations. This system, popularly known as *Marxism*, is the accepted philosophy of modern international Socialism, and I shall now attempt to sketch its main outlines.

THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

The corner-stone of the modern Socialist philosophy is its theory of social evolution. The conception of social development as a process of gradual and logical growth is comparatively new to human thought. Until about the eighteenth century history was generally regarded as a succession of accidental events, mostly brought about by the arbitrary will or whim of the high and mighty of the world—the kings, warriors, and priests. But the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth brought a radical change in all domains of human thought and knowledge. Aprioristic theories were discarded; speculation gave way to research, and the sequence of cause and effect was sought in all natural phenomena.

Ultimately this scientific method was transferred from the natural sciences to the field of social research, and by the middle of the last century the new "social science" was fairly established. It was generally accepted that human society is subject to certain laws of growth and development, and that all social institutions are fashioned by definite causes operating within society.

But what are the factors determining the course of social development and the elements fashioning the social and political structure of society? These were the main questions which agitated the minds of the adepts of the new science. Karl Marx was the first to answer the momentous question fully and clearly.

"The form, contents and changes of every social order," declares the founder of the modern Socialist philosophy, "are determined by the economic basis upon which such society is built." Let us examine this theory more closely.

Frederick Engels, the friend and collaborator of Karl Marx, formulates it in the following concise language:

"The production of the means of sustenance of human life and the exchange of the things so produced form the basis of all social structures. In every society known to history the manner in which wealth is distributed and the people divided into classes depends upon what is produced, how it is produced and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in men's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in the changes occurring in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the *philosophy*, but in the *economics*, of each epoch."

In the literature of continental Europe, this theory is known as the *Materialistic Conception of History;* in English it is designated by preference by the apter phrase, *Economic Interpretation of History.*

THE BREAD-AND-BUTTER BASIS OF POLITICS

The somewhat fragmentary formulation of the doctrine by Engels and its still terser statement by Marx have subsequently been amplified by both, and further developed by their disciples. As the theory is understood and interpreted to-day, it is exceedingly simple and may be illustrated by a familiar example.

Under normal circumstances the first care of the individual human being is to assure his material existence—to gain a livelihood. The manner in which he makes his living (his trade, calling, or economic state) determines to a large extent his income, habits,

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associations, and notions—his station in life, mode of life, and view of life. A similar rule holds good for aggregations of human beings organized in societies. The first instinctive or conscious endeavor of every nation is to provide the means of its material sustenance—to produce wealth; and the manner in which it produces its sustenance ultimately determines its form of organization, division of work or functions, and its notions of right and wrong—its politics, social classes, and ethics. The government, social relations, and morals of a nomadic tribe will naturally differ from those of an agricultural people, a slave-owning community, a feudal society, or an industrial order, and in each case they will adopt the forms best suited to the preservation and advancement of the prevailing economic interests.

It is not contended that the economic mainspring is the sole motive of national life and action. Idealistic notions and intellectual or moral conceptions often acquire the force of important and even guiding factors in the progress of civilization; but as a rule such notions and conceptions are themselves primarily engendered by material conditions.

THE "CLASS STRUGGLE" DOCTRINE

As against the hostile forces of surrounding nature, and sometimes also as against other nations competing for the same bounties of nature, the economic interests of each nation are harmonious and entire. But within the nation itself no such general harmony of interests exists. As soon as a society advances in its economic development to the point of division of labor, its members split into different groups of separate, often antagonistic, economic interests. The contending-interest groups constitute the "classes" of society, and the main division among such classes is created by the possession or non-possession of property. The possessors are the privileged and ruling classes of society; the propertyless inhabitants constitute the inferior and dependent classes. The members of each of such social divisions are united in their economic interests and are antagonistic to those of opposite economic interests.

The dominant classes always strive to maintain and fortify their economic advantages, while the dependent classes instinctively or consciously endeavor to better their social position by curtailing the power and privileges of their exploiters. The Marxian Socialists contend that the resultant conflicts between the opposing classes in each civilization constitute the main substance of the recorded history of the nations.

True to the method of economic interpretation, the Marxist does not ascribe the causes of the modern social evils to a "faulty" arrangement of society or to the "unrighteousness" of the ruling classes or individuals, nor does he seek to evolve a remedy from the depths of his own wisdom. He maintains that both must be found in the economic structure of modern society, in our methods of producing and distributing wealth, and he proceeds to analyze the mechanism of our industrial system. It is significant that the *chef-d'œuvre* of Karl Marx, the "Bible" of modern Socialism, is not a speculative philosophic or moral treatise, but a dispassionate, scholarly work on political economy, entitled "Capital."

The character of modern wealth, Marx argues, differs from that of the wealth of former ages. It is not represented by slaves or serfs, nor even principally by land or agricultural products. Modern wealth consists mainly of an accumulation of privately owned commodities and of the instruments used for their production and distribution. Wealth in this form is *capital* and its owners are *capitalists*.

The ultimate object of capital is to produce and exchange commodities and thus to increase its own volume—this is the substance of the industrial process. All industrial wealth is created in that process and all industrial profits are derived through it. But since all commodities exchange for their full values, no accretion of wealth can arise from the process of exchange, and the source of all accumulations of industrial profits and wealth must therefore be found in the process of production. Let us try to trace it.

THE "SURPLUS VALUE" THEORY

Marx adopts the classical "labor theory" of value, *i.e.*, the theory that the value of a manufactured commodity is determined by the quantity of average social labor required for its reproduction. This doctrine was formulated by the great classical economists Ricardo and Smith, and was generally accepted at the time when Marx wrote

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his "Capital;" but in the hands of the founder of modern Socialism it led to a new economic discovery entirely unforeseen by its original promulgators.

Since the value of all manufactured commodities is measured by the aggregate amount of labor* embodied in them, the capitalists could make no profits and accumulate no wealth if they were to pay back to the workers in the shape of wages or salaries the full equivalent of their aggregate labor, *i.e.*, all manufactured wealth. It is therefore evident that as a matter of fact the money wages of the workers represent less than the full equivalent of the products of their labor. How are wages determined, and how are profits made?

> NO AMOUNT OF PERSONAL GOOD FEELING CAN REMOVE THE CONFLICT OF INTERESTS BETWEEN EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE SO LONG AS THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM PREVAILS.

"Labor," answers Marx, "in the present system is a commodity, and is purchased by the manufacturing capitalist in the open market, in the same way as raw material or machinery—on the basis of its market value." The market value of labor is established substantially in the same manner as that of any other commodity—by the cost of its production. In the case of labor this formula means the equivalent of such quantity of food, clothing, and other necessaries of life as will enable the worker to rear offspring, to maintain his health, and restore his working power from day to day according to the established standard of living.

Thus if the necessaries of the working man's life per day can be produced in six hours of average social labor time, his average wages will represent the portion of his labor equivalent to six hours, and if he works ten hours, the product of the remaining four hours will go to his employer. The portion of the labor product which the capitalist thus retains for himself Marx styles "surplus value."

The "surplus value" of the employing capitalist is by no means his clear profit. From it he usually pays rent to the owner of his factory site or interest to the banker who advances his operating capital, or both. Thus all forms of capitalist revenue, rent, interest, and profits depend ultimately on the production of "surplus value," while the workers depend for their living on wages. Since wages and "surplus value" are derived from the same source—labor employed in the production of wealth—it is evident that the portion of the one is relatively smaller as that of the other is larger.

Hence arises a constant conflict of interest between the capitalist class and the working class over their respective shares of the product, and that conflict underlies all class struggles in modern society. In normal times it smolders under the surface, and expresses itself in the instinctive efforts of the worker to save and conserve his sole valuable possession—his labor power, to "loaf on his job," as Dr. Ryan expresses it, and, on the other hand, in the endeavor of the employers to secure the maximum labor from his "hands" for a given wage—to "speed up." It is also at the bottom of the endless bickerings over wage scales and working hours, of the predilection of the manufacturing capitalist for the labor of women and children and of the workers' opposition to these forms of cheap labor.

The more acute stages of the ever-present conflict of interest between employer and worker find expression in the "labor disputes" which have become inseparable from our industrial order, the frequent and extensive strikes, boycotts, lockouts, and blacklists.

Nor is the modern class struggle entirely confined to the economic life of the nations. It always influences and often determines their politics as well. The respective attitudes of the contending political parties toward capital and labor are among the most vital issues in all modern political platforms, and the practical handling of the problems arising from the conflict of the two economic categories often constitutes the main feature of administrative policies and politics.

*The term "labor" as employed in Marxian economics comprehends all kinds and grades of work required in the process of producing and distributing wealth—mental as well as manual, and the work of management and direction as well as that of execution. In that sense the labor of the active capitalist produces as much as that of a hired employee rendering similar services, and his compensation for such labor is quite distinct from the workless income on his capital.

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The struggles between capital and labor are not based on lack of mutual understanding or on personal hostility between the capitalists and the workers. The private relations between an employer and his employees may be very cordial, and both sides may even be unconscious of the conflict of their interests; but that conflict is nevertheless firmly and fatally imbedded in their economic relations, and no amount of personal good feeling or harmony can remove it so long as the capitalist system of production prevails.

SOCIALISM A LABOR MOVEMENT

The economic antagonism between capitalists and wage-workers is not limited to their immediate every-day concerns: it extends to their ultimate and more vital social interests.

The capitalist owes his ability to extract "surplus value" from the worker and thus to amass profits and wealth to the fact that he owns the tools without which no wealth can be produced. The worker is forced to surrender a substantial portion of the fruits of his toil to the capitalist because he possesses nothing but his labor power, and that possession is worthless without the modern tool. The private capitalist ownership of the tools or instruments of production is thus at once the source of the capitalists' strength and of the workers' weakness; and while it is in the interest of the former to maintain the system, the salvation of the latter lies in its abolition.

Socialism, which advocates the abrogation of private ownership in the instruments of production, is thus the logical philosophy and social goal of the working classes.

This deduction from the analysis of the existing economic system is one of the most important practical results of the Marxian philosophy. It served to transform Socialism from a vague humanitarian and classless ideal into a practical economic and political movement of the working class.

The Socialists of the beginning of the last century assumed that all social shortcomings were due to a "faulty" organization of society caused by lack of social intelligence, and that society would be reorganized on a "rational" and "just" basis as soon as men, and particularly those in power and authority, could be made to realize the faults and iniquities of the prevailing order. Hence the early Socialists addressed themselves to the conscience of mankind in general and to the generosity of the wealthy and powerful in particular, trying to convert them to their views by arguments and exhortation and by "practical demonstrations," *i.e.*, the establishment of experimental "socialistic" communities.

Thus Charles Fourier, the great French Socialist of the primitive or "utopian" school, made a public appeal to the men of wealth to furnish him with the means of founding a model community, and every day during the last ten years of his life he went to his house at noontime with the regularity of clockwork, expecting the visit of a sympathetic millionaire in response to his appeal. Robert Owen, Fourier's illustrious English contemporary, even went so far as to submit his plans of industrial organization of society to Czar Nicholas I. of Russia and to the Congress of Sovereigns at Aachen.

The philosophy of Karl Marx introduced a radical change into the situation. It asserted the doctrine that the workers could not hope for substantial relief from the ruling classes, since the capitalists can not give up the private ownership of the tool without committing economic suicide. It taught the workers that they must depend on their own efforts for their social salvation. Marxism thus substitutes enlightened class consciousness and consistent class action on the economic and political fields for the inarticulate class instinct and one-sided activity of the purely economic organizations of labor and the purely propagandist efforts of the early Socialist schools.

In its general character and immediate promise Socialism is thus primarily a movement of the working class. But in its practical operations and ultimate benefits it is by no means restricted to the wage-workers alone.

While the capitalists and wage-workers are the most important and best defined interest-groups or classes in modern society, they are not the only classes. Between them and alongside of them there are numerous and important economic groups usually designated by the general term "middle classes." These consist of small farmers, manufacturers, and merchants; professionals or "free practitioners" of all callings, such as physicians, lawyers, writers, artists, and clergymen; and "intellectuals"

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directly employed by the capitalist class, such as superintendents, accountants, and clerks. The direct economic interests of many of these classes are more closely allied with those of the workers than of the capitalists, and in the social struggles of the classes they may frequently be found siding with the former.

Furthermore, while the working class would be the most direct and immediate beneficiary of the contemplated Socialist transformation, the benefits of the latter would ultimately accrue in a very large measure to mankind at large. It is not the aim of Socialism to put the workers in power over other classes of society, to supplant one dominant class by another. Since wage labor represents the last form of economic dependence and exploitation, the victory of the workers in the pending class struggle must result in the abolition of all classes —the economic emancipation of the entire human race.

IT IS NOT THE AIM OF SOCIALISM TO PUT THE WORKERS IN POWER OVER OTHER CLASSES OF SOCIETY. THE VICTORY OF THE WORKERS MUST RESULT IN THE ABOLITION OF ALL CLASSES.

THE TREND TOWARD SOCIALISM

In the process of evolving an ever higher civilization history often selects one social class as its chosen instrument. The capitalist class in the period of its militant youth was such an instrument of civilization in demolishing the antiquated feudal system; and the Socialist working class is the instrument of an impending superior civilization in striving to abolish capitalism and to usher in the higher order of cooperative efforts and general enjoyment. It is this larger aspect of the Socialist movement which attracts numerous persons outside of the ranks of the wage-working classes. For while a class as such can never act in opposition to its direct and immediate economic interests, the individual often is guided in his sympathies and actions by the broader consideration of ultimate public benefit.

One of the fundamental propositions of the economic interpretation of history is that the form of society at any given time can not be changed unless the economic development has made it ripe for such change. To complete his case, the Socialist theoretician must therefore prove not only that it is in the interest of the working class to introduce the system of Socialism, but also that it has the power and ability to do so, and that the current of economic development favors such change.

The Marxian Socialist contends that the requisite conditions for the transition to Socialism are ripening within the framework of modern society, and that the working class is fast developing the ability to effect the change.

By the inexorable laws of its own evolution Capitalism gradually wipes out the individual factor in production and management. The machine and factory system make production a social and cooperative process, while the large corporations and trusts organize the management of the industries on broad national lines. And the laws of capitalist development are still at work, busily undermining the very foundation upon which the system rests. The competitive warfare fattens its victors and destroys its victims every day. Every day capital and economic power concentrate in the hands of an ever-narrowing circle of industrial and financial interest groups.

In the United States we can already point out a small number of combines and individuals who together control the main sources and products of the national wealth. This process has proceeded with gigantic strides within the last twenty-five years. What heights will it reach a quarter of a century hence? Will one great money octopus be allowed to fasten its greedy tentacles on the life and existence of the hundred million inhabitants of the country, or will the nation develop a power of sufficient strength and intelligence to free itself from the menace by reorganizing society on a new and sounder basis?

The Socialists assert that the Socialist movement of the working class is developing into such a power. The ranks of the workers are steadily extending, their numbers are

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rapidly increasing. The process of capitalist concentration results among other things in the elimination of the independent small producers and traders, who are forced in ever-increasing numbers into the state of dependent "salaried" employees, and the cohorts of industrial wage-earners are further augmented by accretions from the farming population, whose life becomes more and more precarious.

The story of this irresistible movement is writ large in the records of every decennial census. Nor is the growth of the working class to be measured by numbers alone. The workers advance steadily in social intelligence, in the spirit of revolt, and in political wisdom and power. This is the real significance of the tremendous growth in recent times of the Socialist, trade-union, and cooperative movements, and of the "socialistic" and "semi-socialistic" measures of all modern legislatures. The growth of the Socialist and labor movement keeps pace with that of capitalist concentration and power, and the time is bound to come when these two main and contending factors in modern civilization will be forced into a trial of strength.

Which will prevail? The small group of the "interests" or the large masses of the workers?

"The workers, beyond a doubt," answer the Socialists. For the power of the ruling classes is purely artificial, and is based on the tolerance, ignorance, and apathy of the masses. It can not survive the awakening of the populace; it can not continue against their opposition.

AN EXPLODED PHILOSOPHY

BY DR. RYAN

CONCERNING the relation and importance of the Socialist philosophy to the Socialist movement, I am in substantial agreement with my esteemed opponent. While economic Socialism is not necessarily dependent upon the fundamental theory elaborated by Karl Marx, it has historically been made to rest upon that foundation, and not upon another. That basis, therefore, that "set of social and economic doctrines, . . . lends scientific sanction to the movement, formulates its aims, and aids in the shaping of its methods." Yes; and is mainly responsible, as we shall see hereafter, for its ethical, religious, and other non-economic doctrines and affinities.

In the words of Mr. Hillquit, "the cornerstone of the modern Socialist movement is its theory of social evolution." And the core of the theory is the doctrine of historical materialism, or economic interpretation of history, or—to adopt the title that seems to me most precise and suggestive—economic determinism.

According to its original formulation by Marx and Engels, "the form, contents and changes of every social order" and "all social changes and political revolutions" are determined, caused, shaped, by economic factors, by the methods of proprietorship, production, and exchange. Later on the theory was so modified by Engels as to admit the influence of political, legal, philosophical, and religious factors (see Seligman, "The Economic Interpretation of History," pp. 142, 143; N. Y., 1902).

Nevertheless he continued to hold that the economic factor was the decisive one *in the last instance.* This implies that the determining influence of the non-economic social factors is all derived and instrumental, not original and independent. Consequently the extent and direction of their causal action is ultimately governed by the economic factor, just as the operation of the hammer upon a nail or the saw upon a board is produced and regulated by the carpenter. Inasmuch as he was a philosophical materialist, Engels could not logically admit that non-material and non-economic factors, such as religion and ethics, were capable of exerting any *original* and *independent* force or causality. Therefore, his modification of the theory of economic determinism does not mean as much as an uncritical perusal of his words might lead one to infer. It merely makes explicit what was from the beginning of the theory implicit, namely, that non-economic factors do exert a real and important, though secondary and derived, influence upon social evolution.

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This revised but not *essentially* changed form of the theory is the one apparently accepted by my opponent. While he admits that "idealistic notions and intellectual and moral conceptions often acquire the force of important and even guiding factors in the progress of civilization," he maintains that "the manner in which it [a nation] produces its sustenance *ultimately* [italics mine] determines its form of organization, division of work or functions, and its notions of right and wrong—its politics, social classes, and ethics."

Now it is undeniable that economic conditions do exercise a large influence upon social life, ideas, institutions, and development. Discerning men no longer think that a nation's history can be written in terms of its spectacular events and its great warriors, diplomats, and statesmen. To know adequately the life and achievements of a people we must study their social institutions, and among the latter a very large part is taken by economic institutions. If the economic factor had played no rôle in the Protestant Reformation, the American Revolution, the making of our Constitution, our Civil War, and the Irish struggle for self-government, the history of these events would have been vastly different.

THE EXAGGERATED "ECONOMIC" INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

To-day almost all our *political* problems and activities are entirely or fundamentally economic. Even the ethical notions of men vary considerably according to their industrial interests. Consider, for example, the different moral judgments passed respectively by employers and employees upon the strike, the boycott, the closed shop, judicial injunctions, and the definition of fair wages and fair profits.

To admit and insist that economic conditions very largely influence the politics, morals, and even the religious life of peoples and social classes is, however, to fall far short of the Socialist position. Whether he be a philosophical materialist or not, the average Socialist magnifies the rôle of the economic factor beyond all plausibility. Particularly is this true with regard to religion and ethics. Witness the extravagant and fantastic attempts of Kautsky and Loria to "explain" the origin and subsequent history of Christianity on purely economic grounds, and the crude and superficial efforts of so many Socialists to reduce all vice, crime, and sin to economic causes and motives.

"THE 'CLASS-STRUGGLE' DOCTRINE"

That phase of the theory of economic determinism which we have just been considering describes the *general* causality of the economic factor. It deals with the influence of economic conditions and changes upon other social conditions and changes. There is, however, another phase of the theory which has to do with the manner in which the dominant economic factors operate within the economic field, and bring about social evolution. According to this part of the theory the method or instrument through which changes in the social structure of society are effected is the class struggle.

Hence economic forces operating through the class struggle are the primary determinants of all social evolution. It was in the light of these two sides of the economic-determinism theory that Marx and Engels wrote in the "Communist Manifesto:" "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."

Obviously this sentence contains an enormous amount of exaggeration. The great international wars, the rise and growth of Christianity, the development of education, law, science, and invention, were only feebly and remotely determined by struggles between different economic groups. This is a fine formula for the simplification of history, but it ignores too many inconvenient facts. In Mr. Hillquit's acceptation of the theory, class struggles appear as the "main substance of the recorded history of the nations." Even this statement will not stand the test of a comprehensive review of historical events.

Even when we confine our attention to the purely economic field, we see that the class-struggle doctrine unduly simplifies the relations and exaggerates the antagonisms of the different economic classes. The latter can not, as so many Socialists would have us believe, be properly reduced to two, capitalists and "workers." Indeed, Mr. Hillquit enumerates under the general designation of "middle classes" several economic groups, such as small farmers, manufacturers, and merchants, the professional

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classes and the salaried classes. However, he maintains that their economic interests are "often more closely allied with those of the workers than of the capitalists." "Often," perhaps; certainly not always.

But my opponent contends that the main division among these classes is created not so much by economic occupation or function as by "the possession or non-possession of property." Even this basis of division does not yield material for a class struggle of any great importance.

Professor Streightoff estimates that there are about twenty-four million individuals in the United States who possess some income-bearing property other than government and corporation securities ("The Distribution of Incomes in the United States," p. 146; N. Y., 1912). Combining with this number those persons who own the latter two kinds of securities, and making a liberal allowance for duplications, we seem to be warranted in putting the total number of income-bearing property owners at a majority of the forty-two million persons whose age is twenty years and over (Census of 1910). Between these and the propertyless minority an active or economically important conflict is quite unlikely. Should one arise it would evidently not terminate in the way desired by the Socialists. The possessing section is too numerous and too powerful.

Finally, if the line of cleavage is to be drawn, as many Socialists contend, between those who get their living *mainly* from wages and those who derive most or all of their incomes from capital, the conditions of a genuine struggle would still be wanting, because a very large proportion of the former division would refuse and do refuse to become involved. They do not believe that their interest lies in that direction.

Class divisions based upon divergent economic interests are an indisputable fact. In his recent work entitled "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States," Professor Beard of Columbia University has shown that the Constitution was not the work of altruistic and doctrinaire political scientists, but of the personal property and creditor classes. In writing it they zealously protected their own interests against the interests and designs of the merchant, mechanic, farmer, and debtor classes. But it happened that their interests were, so far as the making of a constitution was concerned, in harmony with the broad principles of economic and political equity.

In our time the average member of a legislative body *primarily* represents not an abstraction called his entire constituency, but the economic class with which he is most closely affiliated. Hence the practical need of each class to have its own representatives in every legislature. Numerous other instances of the influence of class sympathies and class interests upon social and political life will readily occur to the intelligent observer.

But the man who tries to see things as they are will realize that the number of economic classes can not usefully nor correctly be reduced to two, and that a very large part of the population is not definitely aligned in a single class conflict. There exists, indeed, a certain sort of class struggle between *a large section* of the wage-earners and *a large section* of the capitalists; but other large sections hold persistently aloof, or engage in it only feebly and intermittently, and even then not uniformly on the same side. Hence the struggle, such as it is, is much less general, less intense, and less uniform than it appears in the average Socialist picture.

"THE 'SURPLUS-VALUE' THEORY"

The proposition that labor does not get the full equivalent of its product is in one sense a platitude, and in another sense unprovable.

It is a platitude inasmuch as it states that labor does not obtain the whole of the product created by present labor combined with capital, or "crystallized labor." It is unprovable inasmuch as it implies that capital contributes to the joint product only sufficient utility or sufficient value to replace the capital, and that all the remaining value of the product is the creation of present labor. Since the product would not have come into existence at all if either capital or labor were wanting, and since every part of it is due in some degree to the action of both, to determine how much of the product is specifically attributable to either factor is quite as impossible as to find out what proportion of the animal has come from either parent.

Wherefore Marx's "new economic discovery" turns out to be the discovery either

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of the obvious or of the undiscoverable.

The statement that wages are determined by the cost of maintaining labor in conformity with "the established standard of living" is under one aspect unimportant, and under another aspect untrue. It is unimportant because it does not necessarily imply that the scale of living of the laborer is unreasonably low, and because it is true of other than the working classes. "The established standard of living" is quite elastic and relative. For a large part of the workers it means a reasonable and comfortable existence, and often includes savings and investments for the future. Their "established standard of living," interpreted in this broad sense, absorbs all the incomes of the great majority of those who are not wage-earners.

> THE PROPOSITION THAT LABOR DOES NOT GET THE FULL EQUIVALENT OF ITS PRODUCT IS A PLATITUDE, AND UNPROVABLE.

On the other hand, the statement in question is untrue, inasmuch as it asserts that wages are in all cases strictly *determined* by the established standard of living. The latter is an effect rather than the cause of most of those incomes which are above the cost of bare subsistence.

In a word, the whole Marxian surplus-value theory is a pedantic and mystifying formulation of things which are either obvious, unprovable, unimportant, or untrue. It does not explain economic facts, nor contribute to the study of economic justice, nor indicate the trend of economic evolution.

In the division of a product already in existence, the interests of labor and capital are opposed, inasmuch as a greater share to the latter (including the business manager and the landowner) will mean a smaller share to the former. The fact is, however, that the division is made before the product comes into being. Within certain limits the terms of the division may decide not only the proportion of the product that will go to each recipient, but the total amount that will be available for distribution. An attitude of good-will on both sides, particularly on the part of the employer with regard to wages and other conditions of the labor contract, generally results in a larger share for both parties. Therefore the antagonism between them is neither so fundamental nor so extensive as represented by my opponent and Socialists generally.

From the fact that the capitalist takes a part of the product of industry it does not follow that the laborer should seek to abolish the régime of private capital. The inference is not logical, nor is Socialism "the logical philosophy of the working class." The flaw in the inference is the assumption that Socialism would be able to give the laboring class better conditions than are attainable under the present system.

The truth that the progress of the working class depends mainly upon their own united efforts was not discovered by Karl Marx. As the history of trade-unionism attests, it was fairly well known to the laboring people even before the rise of modern capitalism. In England and the United States the trade-unions have done far more to diffuse this knowledge than have the Socialists. The influence of the latter in educating the laboring people need not be denied, but over against it must be set the fact that Marx and his followers have exaggerated the power of the workers, minimized the assistance obtained and obtainable from other classes, and led the wage-earners whom they have captured into a blind alley.

"THE TREND TOWARD SOCIALISM"

a. As Described and Predicted by Karl Marx.

"In proportion as capital accumulates," said Marx, "the lot of the laborer, be his payment high or low, must become worse" ("Capital," I. 406, 407; Humboldt Edition). With regard to the middle classes, both Marx and Engels thought that "the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen, and the peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat" ("The Communist Manifesto," p. 26; Kerr's Edition). In my opponent's statement of the concentration theory, these two phases are passed over in silence; yet they were fundamental in the

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forecast of Marx and Engels. How far have they been verified?

Between 1853 and 1893 (The "Communist Manifesto" appeared in 1848) real wages increased in Great Britain 88 per cent.; in France, 81 per cent.; and in the United States, 85 per cent. (Professor Bowley in the *Economic Journal*, viii. 488). In his second article of this series, Mr. Hillquit admits that, "on the whole, life is more propitious to-day, even to the masses, than it was at any time in the past."

The middle classes have likewise refused to make good the Marxian prediction. Between 1851 and 1891 England's population increased but 30 per cent., while the number of her families in receipt of from £150 to £1,000 annual income was enlarged by 233 per cent. According to Mr. Chiozza Money, the number of persons receiving from £180 to £700 per annum in 1904 was more than twice as large as the number of families getting from £150 to £1,000 in 1891. The population of Prussia doubled between 1854 and 1894, but the number of persons obtaining above £150 annually was multiplied seven times. Eduard Bernstein, the Revisionist Socialist from whose "Evolutionary Socialism" (pp. 46, sq.) most of these figures are taken, declares that the other countries of Europe "show no materially different picture," and that the members of the possessing classes are increasing both absolutely and relatively.

THE MARXIAN PREDICTION JUSTIFIED

In the United States we have unfortunately no definite statistics regarding the numbers of persons in receipt of any particular range of incomes, or in possession of particular amounts of property. For our present purpose the most significant available figures are the following: Between 1875 and 1911 the number of savings-banks depositors quadrupled, while the population merely doubled; from 1880 to 1905 the wealth of the country increased two and one-half times, but the amount of savings-banks deposits three and three-quarters times; the average size of farms fell from 206 acres in 1850 to 138 acres in 1910; and between 1900 and 1910 the proportion of our agricultural land in farms of more than 1,000 acres decreased more than six and one-half per cent. (See Bulletins of the Census of 1910.)

Although the wage-earners have shown no tendency toward progressive deterioration, nor the middle classes toward progressive disappearance, has not the concentration phase of the Marxian prediction been justified? "The large capitals beat the smaller," said Marx. Is the bulk of the world's wealth and capital becoming concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer great capitalists and combinations?

Since the middle classes, the owners of medium amounts of productive property, are continuously increasing, it would seem that the question just asked ought to be forthwith answered in the negative. And this answer would be correct on the whole; however, it needs considerable qualification, owing to the different conditions and tendencies in different parts of the industrial field.

In agriculture, as we saw above, the tendency is away from instead of toward concentration. The large American farms are breaking up, and the smaller farms are rapidly increasing. The same movement is going on in Europe. From a brief but comprehensive citation of statistics Bernstein concludes that "in the whole of Western Europe . . . . the small and medium agricultural holding is increasing everywhere, and the large and very large holding is decreasing" (op. cit., p. 71).

In the field of distribution the department store and the mammoth wholesale concern have in some places gained on the smaller establishments; yet the small retailer is everywhere increasing faster than the population (cf. Sombart, "Verein für Sozial Politik," 1899).

In manufactures, the concentration prediction has to some extent been verified. The proportion of the total product turned out by very large manufacturing establishments, and by combinations of many establishments under a single management, has increased in practically all progressive countries. In the United States this process has moved faster and farther than elsewhere, especially during the last fifteen years. Every decennial year since 1840, except two, has shown a considerably greater increase in the amount of capital than in the number of establishments. Between 1904 and 1909 the proportion of the total output coming from establishments having a product of one million dollars' worth or over increased nearly six per cent., while the proportion

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turned out by all the smaller establishments suffered a decrease.

Nevertheless, we must note two mitigating circumstances. First, the number of the smaller establishments and the amount of business done by them continue to grow absolutely, thus showing that the absorption of them by the great industries is still in the distant future. In the year 1909 fifty-six per cent. of the manufactured products of the United States were turned out by concerns having an annual output of less than a million dollars' worth. Second, concentration of industry is not the same as concentration of capital ownership. The joint-stock company has made possible a great diffusion of property titles in industrial concerns. As a consequence, the number of shareholders in our railways and manufacturing concerns is increasing faster than the concentration of capital, and faster than the size of the business establishment (cf. Streightoff, op. cit., pp. 35, sq.).

b. As Seen by Mr. Hillquit

Like most other intelligent Socialists of to-day, my opponent recognizes the exaggerations of the theory of concentration as formulated by Karl Marx. Hence he says nothing about the impoverishment of the working classes or the disappearance of the middle classes. Nevertheless, he believes that the concentration process moves steadily forward by the inexorable laws of capitalist evolution. "Every day capital and economic power concentrate in the hands of an ever-narrowing circle of industrial and financial interest-groups. In the United States we can already point out a small number of combines and individuals who together control the main sources and products of the national wealth."

Apparently my opponent has in mind not merely the combination of many corporations into a few great trusts, but the substantial *control* of a large part of the entire industrial field by a small number of financial concerns, through such devices as interlocking directorates and the monopoly of credit accommodations. The magnitude assumed by these phenomena during the last quarter of a century suggests to him the conclusion that a great industrial and financial oligarchy will in the near future either dominate completely the lives of the people, or be overthrown by Socialism.

And yet there is a third alternative. The great industrial trusts have all been organized within the last fifteen years, practically without interference or regulation by the Government. As I observed in my last article, it is by no means certain that these combinations are really efficient and economical. Professor Meade and Mr. Brandeis think that, as compared with concerns of moderate size, they are inefficient and wasteful. In the opinion of Professor Taussig, "it seems certain that in the ordinary manufacturing industries, even in those where large-scale operations prevail, nothing but a precarious and limited monopoly can result" ("Principles of Economics," ii., 432). All our available experience tends to show that the maximum of efficiency, whether in a single establishment or in a combination of establishments, is reached long before the concern becomes a monopoly. Our great trusts have not been produced merely by superior efficiency. They have been built, at least in part, upon many forms of special privilege, and upon predatory methods of competition.

To assume that the Government is powerless to check and destroy these abnormal combinations and monopolies through the abolition of special privilege and the restoration of fair methods of competition, is hasty and unwarranted. The thing has never been seriously or intelligently attempted. Unless all present signs fail, the right kind of effort will be made under the administration of President Wilson. If it should prove futile and wasteful, the State will have to recognize and encourage these combinations. It will have to regulate them, even to the fixing of maximum prices. If this method should in turn fail, the State can itself become a competitor in that

TO ASSUME THAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN NOT DESTROY ABNORMAL MONOPOLIES THROUGH THE RESTORATION OF FAIR METHODS OF COMPETITION, IS UNWARRANTED.

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part of the industrial field occupied by the trusts.

Not until all these devices have been thoroughly tried and found wanting will there be sufficient reason for asserting that economic development leads inevitably to the control of industry by a few great combinations, and thence to Socialism.

That indirect form of centralization which consists not in complete *ownership*, but in interlocking directorates and a monopoly of credit, and which seems to enable a few powerful groups of men virtually to dominate a large part of the economic life of America, is even more recent than the development of the trusts. The assumption that it can not be prevented or adequately controlled by action of government is even less warranted than in the case of the latter. Here, again, I would advise my opponent to "wait and see."

THE WORKERS THEMSELVES DO NOT WANT SOCIALISM

The second factor upon which Mr. Hillquit relies to bring about the Socialist reorganization of industrial and political society is the rapidly increasing power of the working class. "The process of capitalist concentration results among other things in the elimination of the independent small producers and traders, who are forced in ever-increasing numbers into the state of dependent 'salaried' employees, and the cohorts of industrial wage-earners are further augmented by accretions from the farming population, whose life becomes more and more precarious."

Now, this "elimination" of the small manufacturer and dealer is a very slow and relative process. While the large concerns are encroaching upon the territory of the smaller, the latter are increasing absolutely. In the field of merchandising the small dealers are probably growing quite as fast as the urban population. Moreover, the displaced small independents become receivers of salaries rather than wages, and consequently more closely affiliated with the capitalist class than with the proletariat.

As to "accretions from the farming population," we find that between 1900 and 1910 the number of farms in the United States increased at the same rate as the rural inhabitants, while the increase in the number of farmers who owned the land that they tilled was only three per cent. less than that rate. Since farming has never been so prosperous as in recent years, the majority of those who abandon the rural regions are not driven to do so because life there is becoming more "precarious," but because of the lure of the city, with its real or fancied opportunities.

With regard to the magnitude and growth of the laboring class in America, we have unfortunately no definite or satisfactory statistics. While our wage-earners and salary receivers combined undeniably constitute a majority of all the persons engaged in gainful occupations, they are not a very large majority. In all probability they do not aggregate more than seven-tenths. Were all the voters among them to unite at the ballot-box they could undoubtedly introduce, for the moment at least, a régime of Socialism.

But there is no likelihood that they would all thus unite. A considerable section of them can never be convinced that Socialism is feasible; another large section will continue to oppose the project on religious and moral grounds; a third numerous group hope to become independent business men under the present system; while a fourth section, including the majority of those who receive salaries rather than wages, will never believe that Socialism, even if practicable, would be economically and otherwise better for *them* than the conditions and advantages that they enjoy under the present régime.

Although it is probably true that the laboring class in the wide sense here defined is increasing faster than the independent farming and business classes, this increase will probably be more than neutralized by the improvements in their condition that are certain to come through social legislation, and through participation in the ownership of productive property.

Even in the more moderate statement of my opponent, therefore, the reasons for an irresistible "trend toward Socialism" are neither clear nor convincing.

AN APRIORISTIC AND FATALISTIC PHILOSOPHY

It was the opinion of Engels that the two main doctrines of the Marxian social philosophy, economic determinism and surplus value, had converted Socialism from a utopia into a science. The average Socialist

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never wearies of assuring us that his beloved system is founded upon the inexorable conclusions of science, not upon mere utopian aspirations.

In truth, this so-called scientific basis, this philosophy that we have been examining, is not scientific at all. It is for the most part an a priori concoction; for it is the product of a misuse of the deductive method, an a priori theory of reality, and a partial analysis of experience. It represents an ingenious but unsuccessful attempt to force the facts of economic and social life into the Procrustean bed of a priori theory. We must remember that its elaborator, Marx, was a student of philosophy, a disciple of Hegel, before he became a Socialist. His method always remained that of the metaphysician rather than the scientist. Professor Simkhovitch calls him a "nineteenth-century materialist in the garb of a thirteenth-century schoolman." If he had said a "fifteenth-century schoolman" he would have been more accurate and suggestive; for the subtleties in which Marx so often indulges call to mind scholasticism in its decadence.

Marx's bad use of the deductive method is well illustrated in his discussion of value and surplus value. By arbitrarily eliminating the factors of utility and scarcity, he rigorously concludes that the one element common to all commodities in exchange is labor, and therefore that labor is the sole determinant of value. By reasoning logically from this false premise, he concludes that capital contributes to the product only sufficient value to reproduce itself. His discussion of these subjects and of many others gives the impression of a man dealing with a world of abstractions, a world made to order, not the actual world of industry that we know.

His a priori theory of reality and his inadequate analysis of concrete fact are evident in the theories of economic determinism and the class struggle. A priori he held to the Hegelian doctrine of social evolution through the clash of contradictory elements terminating in a final and absolute synthesis; observation led him to an exaggerated notion of the class struggle; therefore, he seems to have concluded, the final synthesis is Socialism, and Socialism is inevitable. A priori he believed that all that exists is matter; observation assured him that the economic factor is extremely important in social life; therefore, he seems to have concluded, economico-material forces ultimately and necessarily dominate and determine all social processes, ideas, and institutions.

Because of its a priori materialism the Socialist philosophy is fatalistic. As expounded by practically all its prominent advocates, it makes the economic element the finally original and decisive element in social life, and excludes the reality of spirit. It does not attribute our economic evils to a "faulty" arrangement of society, but to the inexorable operation of economic forces and economic evolution. In the mind and imagination of the thoroughgoing scientific Socialist, the social evolutionary process seems to be a huge and unrelenting mechanical movement which can not be checked by any mere action of human beings. Hence he refuses to become discouraged when the term that he sometimes sets for the arrival of Socialism has gone by, or when his prophecies concerning the trend of industrial forces are falsified by the logic of events. He blithely replies that he was mistaken as to the exact time, but that he is quite certain of the inevitable outcome.

Faith, not science, is the soul of the Socialist philosophy; but it is faith suspended in the vacant air.

REBUTTAL BY MR. HILLQUIT

ON THE whole, my opponent's reply is stronger in admissions than in denials. The main foundations of the Marxian philosophy, as I have outlined it, consist of the Economic Interpretation of History, the Class-Struggle doctrine, and the theory of Surplus Value. Let us see how my opponent deals with these propositions.

Dr. Ryan recognizes that economic conditions "exercise a large influence upon social life, ideas, institutions, and development"; that "almost all our political problems and activities are *entirely or fundamentally* economic," and that "even ethical notions of men vary considerably according to their industrial interests." He claims,

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however, that the Marxian Socialist "magnifies the rôle of the economic factor beyond all plausibility." This criticism would be vastly more illuminating if he would or could inform us at what point the economic factor loses its efficacy as a propelling cause in social development.

It is true that he condemns the efforts of Achille Loria and Karl Kautsky to analyze the economic factors which in their opinion led to the origin and determined the growth of the Christian religion as *extravagant* and *fantastic*, and that he characterizes the alleged inclinations of "so many" Socialists to reduce all vice and crime to economic causes as *crude* and *superficial;* but these adjectives come more properly within the province of rhetoric than the category of proof.

THE "LIMITED" CLASS STRUGGLE

With similar candor Dr. Ryan admits that "class divisions based upon divergent economic interests are an indisputable fact." He even concedes that "there exists 'a certain sort of' class struggle between a *large section* of the wage-earners and a *large section* of the capitalists," and goes so far as to accept the purely Socialist view that the average member of the legislature represents the economic interests of the class with which he is most closely affiliated, and to indorse the practical Socialist conclusion that each class (consequently also the working class) must have "its own representatives in *every* legislature."

What remains of his opposition to the Marxian view of the class struggle seems to me to be based partly on a misunderstanding of that view and partly on a faulty estimate of the social forces at work in modern society.

> EVERY WAGE-WORKER IS ALREADY DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

Socialists do not attempt to reduce the number of existing economic classes to two, as erroneously assumed by Dr. Ryan. The existence of "numerous economic-interest groups between and alongside of capitalists and wage-workers" was specifically pointed out by me in the main paper on this subject. What the Socialists, however, do claim, is that the two last-mentioned classes are the most important factors in modern society, and that the conflict between them constitutes the dominant issue in modern society and tends to determine the ultimate alignment of all other classes.

But Dr. Ryan assures us that the conditions of a "genuine class struggle" would always be wanting, for the reason that a very large portion of the wage-workers "would refuse, and do refuse, to become involved." In reply to this I take the liberty of reminding him that the class struggle is not a polite social function. It issues no invitations and accepts no declinations. The "class struggle," in the Marxian interpretation of the term, does not necessarily involve overt, conscious, or violent conflicts—it signifies an antagonism of economic interests, created by the inexorable conditions of capitalist production and not by the will or disposition of individuals; and in this, the only true sense of the term, every wage-worker is already deeply involved in the class struggle.

Dr. Ryan's assertion that the class-divisions in the United States "do not yield material for a class struggle of any great importance" must be taken to mean that the majority of the population are economically interested in upholding the present system of private Capitalism, and would therefore oppose the Socialist plan of coöperative production. In support of this contention he quotes Mr. Streightoff, who is alleged to have made the discovery that "about twenty-four million individuals in the United States possess some income-bearing property other than government and corporation securities." Mr. Streightoff himself does not make his claim quite so strong. He says:

"There are probably nine millions of individuals receiving some returns on savings accounts, and upward of five millions indirectly obtaining profit from participating life-insurance policies. About five million persons possess agricultural land and perhaps as many more hold residential real estate."

Mr. Streightoff's figures are somewhat exaggerated and misleading. According to the census returns of 1900 only 3,653,323 farmers owned all or part of their land, and

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the estimate of five million owners of residential real estate is quite arbitrary. Moreover, a considerable portion of farm owners probably appear again as owners of "residential" real estate, and the possessors of the two classes of property undoubtedly comprise a large part of the savings-bank depositors and policy-holders. Mr. Streightoff seems to appreciate the inconclusiveness of his figures, and sums up his speculations in one terse and telling sentence: "To attempt to estimate the distribution of income from property would be absurd."

> ABOUT 23,750,000 PERSONS MAY BE REGARDED AS POSSIBLE CANDIDATES FOR ENLISTMENT IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

But Dr. Ryan takes the estimates as proven truths, adds the full figures, elevates every individual who chances to have a dollar in a savings-bank or to carry a small insurance policy to the rank of an owner of "income-bearing" property, and with one bold stroke of the pen creates twenty-four million property-holders outside of the uncounted millions who possess government securities and securities of corporations. If our population were so overwhelmingly capitalistic as these figures would indicate, this country would indeed offer little room for class struggles.

But what are the facts?

According to the census of 1900 the total number of persons, ten years old and over, engaged in gainful occupations in the United States was a little over 29,000,000.

Of the persons engaged in manufacture 5,373,108 were classified as "wage-earners," while 708,738 were designated as proprietors and firm members. According to the Report on Manufactures of 1909, 63.2 per cent. of the manufacturing establishments produced less than $20,000 per annum, while the remaining 36.8 per cent. produced upward of $20,000. Let us classify the proprietors of the former as "small producers" or "middle-class" manufacturers and those of the latter as "large producers" or capitalists. On this basis we obtain approximately 254,810 capitalists and 447,928 members of the middle class in the manufacturing industries.

For the 10,472,011 persons enumerated under the two heads of "Domestic and Personal Service" and "Trade and Transportation" the census does not give a similar division by classes, but the sub-enumerations of specific occupations furnish a tolerably reliable guide to the economic status of the persons engaged in them.

Thus we may consider as capitalists all persons designated as bankers and brokers, officials of banks and companies, and wholesale merchants and dealers. To the hybrid middle class we may relegate all small independent business men, such as barbers; hotel, restaurant, boarding-house, livery-stable and saloon keepers; retail merchants; "hucksters and pedlers," and even undertakers; also all individuals engaged in professional and semi-professional service, including free practitioners, clerks, bookkeepers, foremen, commercial travelers, agents, soldiers, policemen, and housekeepers.

The column of "wage-earners" will be made up exclusively of hired manual laborers.

The agricultural population consisted of 10,410,877 persons. Of these about 4,530,000 were "farm hands" or other hired laborers, while the remainder consisted of "farm operators." Only 527,637 farms had an area of 260 acres or more. We will assume that each of these farms had a separate owner, and will consider such big-farm owners as agricultural capitalists, classifying the owners or cultivators of the smaller-sized farms with the all-embracing "middle class."

On this basis we reach the following class division of the active American population:

Capitalists:	
Manufacturing and Mechanical	254,810
Trade and Transportation	189,675
Farmers	527,637
Total	972,122
Middle Class:	
Manufacturing and Mechanical	447,928
Trade and Transportation	2,242,397
Domestic and Personal Service	790,834
Professional Service (all)	1,258,538
Farmers	5,880,877
Total	10,620,574

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Wage-Earners:	
Manufacturing and Mechanical	5,373,108
Trade and Transportation	2,334,892
Domestic and Personal Service	4,789,823
Farm Laborers	4,530,000
Total	17,027,823

To complete our calculations we must add the "unemployed" of both classes, capitalists and wage-workers. To be generous with the former we will assume that one-third of their total number follow the sole and exclusive vocation of being idle, while two-thirds are engaged in some "gainful" occupation—thus adding another 500,000, in round figures, to their numbers. On the other hand, the number of wage-earners enumerated in the census is based on the "average" actually employed on specified days, and does not take into account the workers temporarily or permanently without jobs. Since the number of persons unemployed during some time of the year amounted, according to the same census, to no less than 6,468,964, it is safe to add an average of 1,500,000 to the column of wage-workers.

Thus the total number of American capitalists does not exceed in round numbers 1,500,000; that of the "middle classes" may reach about 10,500,000, while the number of wage-workers must be conservatively estimated at about 18,500,000.

TWENTY-THREE MILLION POSSIBLE SOCIALISTS

Of the 30,500,000 persons figuring in our estimate, only 1,500,000 are unquestioned beneficiaries of the capitalist system and interested in its continuation; 18,500,000 are its victims and economically interested in its abrogation. Of the remaining 10,500,000 persons, designated as the middle class or classes, the majority are in revolt against the existing system. More than a third of the American farmers are mere tenants, whose lot is often worse than that of the wage-worker, and the greater part of the farm-owners are exploited by the mortgagees, railroad companies, and other capitalist agencies almost as much as the wage-worker. The professional men and "salaried" employees likewise feel the burdens of economic pressure weighing on them ever more heavily under Capitalism. It is safe to assert that at least one-half of the persons embraced within the general category of the "middle classes" are justly dissatisfied with their conditions.

Adding these to the number of the wage-workers, we obtain about 23,750,000 persons, or about 78% of the entire active population, who are materially interested in a change of the present economic order and may be regarded as possible candidates for enlistment in the Socialist movement.

Dr. Ryan admits that the economic dependents constitute a large majority of the population and have it within their power to bring about a "régime of Socialism" by united action; but he consoles himself with the placid assumption that they would not make use of that power, for various reasons. The assumption is quite unwarranted in view of the steady and rapid growth of Socialism and other radical economic movements in all advanced countries of the world.

THE "MYSTIFYING" SURPLUS VALUE

Toward the Marxian theory of Surplus Value Dr. Ryan is less conciliatory than toward the doctrines of Economic Determinism and of the Class Struggle. He dismisses it summarily as "a pedantic and mystifying formulation of things that are either obvious, unprovable, unimportant, or untrue."

Dr. Ryan's own theory of the origin of wealth is stated in the following terse sentence: "Since the product would not come into existence at all if either capital or labor were wanting, and since every part of it is due in some degree to the action of both, it is quite impossible to determine how much of the product is specifically attributable to either factor." Let us examine this seemingly plausible statement.

Every modern commodity or "product" is created by the concurrence of three factors—raw material, machinery, and human labor. It is the first two factors which my opponent comprehends under the term "capital." Now raw material and machinery are themselves "products" created by the application of labor to objects found in a "raw" or "natural" state in or on the earth, and in the last analysis every commodity thus owes its existence to the free gifts of nature plus various succeeding processes of human labor, manual or mental. If by his assertion that capital and labor are equally required for creating the product Dr. Ryan merely intends to say that under the present system the capitalists

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have monopolized the resources of the earth in their original or "raw" form as well as in the more perfected form of modern machinery, and that labor is helpless without that monopolized "raw" material and machinery and must yield part of its fruit for their use, he states what is truly "obvious;" and if he means to imply that there exists some mysterious active factor in production known as "capital," and independent of natural resources and instruments of work, he states what is obviously "untrue."

THE MARXIAN SOCIALISTS CLAIM THAT THE WORKER'S SHARE IN THE TOTAL PRODUCT IS STEADILY DIMINISHING, AND THAT HIS SUBSISTENCE GROWS EVER MORE PRECARIOUS.

It is not claimed that Marx discovered the very patent fact that the capitalist's ownership of the instruments of production enables him to exploit the worker. It is the formulation of the mode and process of such exploitation which constitutes Marx's politico-economic discovery known as the theory of "surplus value."

Dr. Ryan takes exception to the part of the surplus-value theory which holds that wages are determined by the cost of maintaining the worker in conformity with his established standard of life, on the ground that such standard is quite "elastic and relative." So it is, and so is practically every other social standard. The Socialists are the first to recognize this undeniable truth, hence their constant efforts to raise the standard of the workers' life. But apart from the slight and slow oscillations, the "*established* standard of life" of a specified class of people is a tolerably concrete and measurable factor, as we will readily perceive by a comparison of the lives and requirements of the American mechanic and the Chinese laborer. And it is quite as unprofitable in this connection to speculate whether wages first determined the standard of life or vice versa, as it is to try to establish the chronological priority between the hen and the egg.

OUTSIDE OF THE ISSUE

The Economic Interpretation of History, the doctrine of Class Struggle, and the theory of Surplus Value thus constitute the main features of the Marxian philosophy and are generally accepted by all its adherents. But within the ranks of the Marxists themselves there have recently developed two divergent schools of thought. The older school of "orthodox" Marxians has for its spiritual head the well-known Socialist writer Karl Kautsky, while the newer school or "revisionist" or "neo"-Marxian is represented principally by the Socialist member of the German Reichstag, Eduard Bernstein. The controversy between the two contending schools turns, among other things, on the merits and interpretation of a brief passage from Marx's "Capital," which reads substantially as follows:

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital who monopolize all advantages of this transformation (the economic development of capitalism), grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation and exploitation of the workers; but with it also grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united and organized by the mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. . . . . Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist shell, which is burst asunder."

The "revisionist" Socialists deny that the general condition of the working classes shows a tendency toward progressive deterioration; they maintain that the wage-workers are not increasing in numbers as fast as Marx predicted; that they do not absorb the "middle classes," and that the latter have lately taken a new lease of life by changing their economic form and function—disappearing as independent small business men, but reappearing as stockholders and officers of large corporations. The "revisionists" finally deny the alleged tendency of capital to concentrate in the hands of a "constantly diminishing" number of individuals.

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On the other hand, the orthodox Marxians, while they are ready to admit an absolute process of improvement in the lot of the worker, claim that his condition is one of relative social and economic deterioration, that his share in the total product is steadily diminishing, and that his subsistence grows ever more precarious. They maintain that the progressive process of transformation of the middle classes from independent producers or traders into salaried employees tends to alienate them more and more from the capitalist class and to couple their fortunes with those of the wage-earning classes, thus substantially justifying Marx's prediction. And finally they contend that while the predicted concentration of capital has not been materialized in the shape of an ever-decreasing number of wealthy individuals, it has been brilliantly fulfilled through the concentration and control of capital in the hands of the powerful modern trusts and business combines.

Personally, I am inclined toward the "orthodox" view, but I purposely omitted the controversy from my introductory statement of the Socialist philosophy for the reason that it is a big and complex subject which can not be conveniently or adequately discussed in the columns of a popular magazine, and for the still stronger reason that the subject is entirely foreign to the present debate. The controversy between the "revisionist" and "orthodox" Marxians is an internal affair of the Socialist movement. Its determination may influence the Socialist tactics and methods, but it does not affect the general Socialist viewpoint or the ultimate aim and objects of the movement.

The best proof of this assertion is the fact that Eduard Bernstein, whom Dr. Ryan cites as his principal authority, is and remains an active and militant Socialist. If the facts and figures so elaborately compiled by Dr. Ryan on the subject above indicated be sustained, they support the position of the "revisionist" Socialist, Eduard Bernstein; if they be disproved, the position of the "orthodox" Socialist, Karl Kautsky, is vindicated; but in no event do they offer any solace or comfort to the anti-Socialist, John A. Ryan.

REJOINDER BY DR. RYAN

IN HIS rebuttal my opponent declares that I have not specifically supported my contention that the Marxian philosophy exaggerates the social importance of economic factors. Such specific proof could not be given, owing to lack of space, and need not be given, inasmuch as the subject will come up again in the articles on morality and religion. It seemed to me that the mere statement of Kautsky's theory of the development of Christianity, and the theory that all vice, crime, and sin are due to economic causes, was a sufficient refutation of these extraordinary views.

Here I shall simply call attention to two important and incontestable facts:

First, the authentic documents which describe the rise of Christianity show no trace of an industrial or social reform movement; and, second, the most typical and widespread vices, crimes, and sins, such as intemperance, unchastity, lying, calumny, indolence, revenge, violence, and greed, permeate *all* classes in approximately the same degree, and would continue in any form of society that could be devised.

In connection with the first of these points I would call attention to the brief but convincing refutation of Engels's explanation of the Protestant Reformation and of Calvinism, given on pages 34-41 of Professor Simkhovitch's recent work, "Marxism versus Socialism."

THE OUTLOOK FOR A GENUINE CLASS CONFLICT

I am reminded by my opponent that the class struggle "is not a polite social function, ... but an antagonism of economic interests, created by the inexorable conditions of capitalist production." But the antagonism between the buyers and sellers of labor-power no more implies a struggle for the *overthrow of the wage system* than the similar antagonism between the buyers and sellers of goods means a contest to abolish the system of economic exchange. In the American trade-union movement the majority are quite well aware of the antago-

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nism of interests existing between themselves and their employers, but they are contending for higher wages and other improvements in their economic condition, not for the destruction of Capitalism. Should this contest for better conditions within the present order continue to be successful, they may refrain forever from making the conflict so intense or carrying it so far as Mr. Hillquit assumes and hopes.

The inference that the class struggle must go to this extreme is not warranted by the mere fact of interest antagonisms. Both parties may find that they have a common interest in maintaining the present system, just as the buyers and sellers of goods realize that exchange is better than independent and isolated production. My opponent's forecast of a class struggle for the overthrow of Capitalism is based, not upon tendencies experimentally evident in contemporary industry, but upon an apocalyptic theory of those tendencies. It is a lingering echo of that Marxian aprioristic fatalism and utopianism which had a vision of economic determinism leading inevitably to concentration of capital, impoverishment of labor, social revolution, and final reconciliation of the warring elements in the golden age of Socialism.

INDUSTRIAL WAGE-EARNERS ONLY 34 PER CENT.

Turning from theory to statistics, Mr. Hillquit questions Professor Streightoff's and my own estimates of the number of persons who own income-bearing property in the United States. While he points out that the census of 1900 reported only 3,653,823 farmers (in 1910 the number was 3,948,722) as owning all or a part of their farms, he fails to note that the census covers only farmers, farm operators, not farm owners.

It reports only those owners who are also cultivators, paying no attention to those rural proprietors who are not themselves engaged in farming. According to the same census, there were more than two million tenant farmers. Now it is entirely probable that the majority of the owners of the rented farms were not themselves farm operators, and therefore do not appear in the census figures. When these are added to the 3,948,722 cultivating owners (census of 1910) the sum will undoubtedly reach 5,000,000. Moreover, this number omits entirely the hundreds of thousands of owners of rural land which has not yet been brought under the plow.

If my opponent's objections to the other items in Professor Streightoff's estimates have no sounder basis than the one just examined, they may be summarily set aside. That many owners appear more than once in the different totals I have already admitted; but I insist that when all reasonable deductions on this account are made from the grand total of 24,000,000, and when the remainder is increased by the "uncounted millions who possess government securities and the securities of corporations," the final result may be put quite conservatively at 22,000,000. This is a majority of the persons in the United States whose age was twenty years and over in 1910. It will stand as a reasonable estimate until it is overthrown by specific statistics and arguments.

Mr. Hillquit submits an analysis of the census report of 1900 on "Occupations," from which he deduces the following conclusions:

Capitalists	1,500,000
Members of Middle Classes	10,500,000
Wage-Earners	18,500,000

> THE ECONOMIC GRIEVANCES OF THE FARMING, SALARIED, AND PROFESSIONAL CLASSES MEAN NOTHING MORE THAN A NEED AND A DEMAND FOR REFORMS.

To these estimates I would take only a single exception. Of the four and one-half million farm laborers in the census tables, 2,366,313 are described as "members of family" ("Occupations," p. xxiii). At least one million of these are surely more akin to the middle classes in ideas and condition than to the wage-earners. When we transfer them to the former division, we have 11,500,000 members of middle classes, and 17,500,000 in the wage-earning class.

Probably the most painstaking attempt

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to discover from the census tables the relative strength of the different economic classes is seen in two articles by Isaac A. Hourwich in Volume XIX of the *American Journal of Political Economy*. The writer is, I believe, a Socialist. According to his computations, the total number of wage-earners is a little less than sixteen million (p. 205), or a little more than half the number of persons in all gainful occupations. As Mr. Hourwich took no account of the unemployed, his estimate of the number of wage-earners proves to be about the same as that of Mr. Hillquit, when the latter is corrected by eliminating one million members of farm families.

However, Mr. Hourwich estimates the number of *industrial* wage-earners, that is, the manual workers engaged in urban and strictly capitalist industries, at a little less than ten million. In his view only these are likely to become actively engaged in a working-class movement. The other six million wage-earners, together with the salaried classes, the professional and quasi-professional classes, the agents and the traveling men, are grouped by him under the head of the "public," or the middle classes. His conclusion as to the relative strength of the three great economic groups is: industrial wage-earners, 34.8 per cent.; the public, 31.3 per cent.; entrepreneurs, or the business class, 27.7 per cent.

Professor Commons arrives at a very similar conclusion. In his opinion, only one-third of the adult males of the country are available for a class conflict, nor are the other two-thirds likely to be drawn into it in the near future. (*The American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1908. Cf. the excellent analysis of the situation by Simkhovitch in "Marxism versus Socialism," pp. 216-224.)

THE RAPID GROWTH (?) OF SOCIALISM

These estimates of the proportion of our industrial population which is likely to be drawn into an active class conflict conform much more closely to the facts than does the view of Mr. Hillquit. The economic grievances of the farming, salaried, and professional classes, and the growth of "radical economic movements," upon which he relies, mean nothing more than a need and a demand for *reforms*. At present they do not express nor consciously include a desire for Socialism. The various groups of persons who feel these grievances are "possible candidates for enlistment in the Socialist movement" only in the sense that all things are possible. Not until their demands and hopes for social reform within the present system have been proved futile will any important percentage of them become *probable* candidates for Mr. Hillquit's movement. His faith that they will sooner or later reach this position is, of course, based upon his hope that mere social reform will fail. This is a purely a priori assumption.

Concerning the "steady and rapid growth of Socialism," which is another element in the foundation of his faith, there are many signs that it has already received a serious check. The numerous desertions from the organized movement in more than one country of Europe, but especially in Germany, and even in the United States, the bitter internal dissensions created by Syndicalism, I.-W.-W.-ism, and other elements, and the better education of the public with regard to the real nature, aims, and affinities of Socialism, are some of the more important facts which point to this conclusion.

SURPLUS VALUE ONCE MORE

Of course, I never had any intention of denying that capital springs ultimately from the union of labor and the raw material of nature. In passing, I would observe, however, that the "crystallized labor" in capital is not the labor of the men who now work with the capital. Hence *their* labor has not created the whole product. My real point was that Marx's assertion is unprovable, to wit: "The means of production never transfer more value to the product than they themselves lose during the labor process." ("Capital," i. p. 116; Humboldt Edition.) The contribution of the two factors, labor and capital, to the product can not possibly be distinguished. Consequently we have no means of knowing how much of the product's value is due to either present or "crystallized" labor.

Not the fact, but the "mode and process," of capitalist exploitation, says my opponent, constitute the "discovery" in the theory of surplus value. Yet the mode and process have always been quite as obvious as the fact itself. The statement of the "discovery," either in my opponent's pages or in

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Part III. of the first volume of "Capital," merely amounts to this: Since only a part of the product of industry is needed to support the laborer in conformity with his established standard of living, the capitalist takes the remainder because he has the power to take it. The truth in this formula was surely quite as obvious to intelligent men before the days of Marx as it has since been to those who have never read a line of "Capital."

The "established-standard-of-living theory" is frequently so presented in Socialist propaganda as to imply that the worker gets only a bare subsistence. Of course, this is not true, nor did Marx himself ever include it in his statement of the theory. In the second place, wages are not always regulated by the standard of living. When wages are forced up by a strong labor-union, or down by a commercial crisis, they become with reference to the standard of living cause instead of effect.

Mr. Hillquit is right in his statement that the "revisionist" controversy is outside the issue in this debate. Hence I did not bring it in. I barely alluded to it in connection with the name of Bernstein.

To that part of the Marxian theory about which the controversy rages I did, however, give considerable space. I wanted to discuss the Socialist philosophy in its entirety as expounded by Marx, rather than confine myself to a version from which all the troublesome and controverted elements had been tenderly expurgated.

While the most concrete and appealing part of the Marxian philosophy is the theory of the class struggle, the most vital and popular element of the latter is the prophecy of "increasing misery." It supplies the ordinary Socialist, "the man in the street," with an easily grasped reason for his indictment of the present order, and for his faith in the near approach of the Collective Commonwealth. It still plays an important part in the Socialist propaganda, is still in substance accepted by the majority in the Socialist movement.

Take away this prophecy, and the class struggle becomes "Marxism with Marx left out." Convert this prophecy into the statement that the working classes are advancing less rapidly than the capitalists, and that the middle classes are becoming salary receivers, and you make the class struggle, perhaps not a "polite social function," but a sham battle, a sort of social wrist-slapping contest. You have taken out of the class-struggle theory all those emotional, catastrophic, and revolutionary features which have always exhibited it to its faithful disciples as the pledge and the prelude of the imminent fall of Capitalism.

HAS IT ALL BEEN IN VAIN?

In the opinion of my esteemed opponent, the facts and figures that I have marshaled against the increasing misery doctrine tend to support the position of Bernstein, the Socialist, but give no solace or comfort to Ryan, the anti-Socialist. Were I combating the Socialism of Bernstein, I should not, indeed, make use of these data. Neither would he employ them in defense of Socialism. He has used them not as an advocate but as a *critic*. Are they not quite as effective in the hands of any other critic? While they do not overthrow the entire Socialist argument, they are good and pertinent against the majority of Socialists. For the majority, like my opponent, are still "inclined toward the orthodox view."

To Kautsky, the most authoritative of present-day Socialists, these facts and figures seemed to have a tremendously ominous significance. "If they are true, then not only is the day of our victory postponed, but we can never reach our aim. If capitalists are on the increase and not the propertyless, then development is setting us back further and further from our goal, then capital entrenches itself and not Socialism, then our hopes will never materialize." ("Protokoll des Stuttgarter Parteitags," 1898, p. 128.)

Moreover, the Socialism of Bernstein—for, as my opponent triumphantly reminds me, the revisionist leader remains "an active and militant Socialist"— does not differ appreciably from the program of the advanced social reformer. It is a sort of denaturalized and devitalized Socialism, as may be seen in his book, "Evolutionary Socialism."

It would seem, then, that the refutation of the theory of increasing misery is well worth while.

The February instalment of ***"Socialism: Promise or Menace?"*** *will debate the subject of Socialism and Morality.*

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SOCIALISM:

PROMISE *or* MENACE?

A Debate between

MORRIS HILLQUIT

and

JOHN AUGUSTINE RYAN. D·D·

Editors Note—In the debate so far, Mr. Hillquit and Dr. Ryan have discussed five of the main aspects of Socialism. What Socialism is and who its authorities are; the Socialist indictment of modern Capitalism; the proposed Socialist State, with its industrial program; the Socialist philosophy, with its three main doctrines — the Economic Interpretation of History, Class Struggle, and Surplus-Value theories: so much of the whole field has already been covered. The discussion in this number concerns the most contentious phase of all—Morality and Socialism.

This debate is already considered the most illuminating contribution to this vital problem. The chances are you ought to read it.

V

SOCIALISM AND MORALITY

BY JOHN AUGUSTINE RYAN, D.D.

SOCIALIST ethics comprises four main elements: its general principle, and its specific doctrines concerning the individual, the family, and the State.

According to the general principle, the rules of morality are neither eternal nor immutable. Not only the moral notions and conduct of men, but the moral laws themselves, are temporary and variable. In other words, the moral law has no objective existence apart from the codes of conduct that have prevailed among nations and classes throughout history.

That this is the ordinary Socialist view is evident from the pages of both the classical and the more popular writers of the movement. It is defended by Marx, Engels, Dietzgen, Bebel, Kautsky, Hillquit, La Monte, Herron, Untermann, Ladoff, and many others.

This doctrine of ethical relativity rests upon two main grounds in Socialist theory, namely, philosophical materialism and economic determinism.

Marx, Engels, Dietzgen, and most of the other great expounders of Socialism, conceived all reality in terms of force and matter.

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Their materialism was not merely historico-economic, but metaphysical. (cf. "Feuerbach: The Roots of Socialist Philosophy," by F. Engels; pp. 53, 57, 59, and *passim*.) For them there is no such reality as God or spirit. The thoughts and principles in the minds of men are merely functions or motions of the brain. All things are in constant process of change; nay, the process itself is the only reality. Consequently, moral rules are like all things else, temporary and variable. Murder, lying, theft, rape, treachery, and disobedience may be morally good at some time and in some place.

MORAL LAWS ARE AS IMMUTABLE AS HUMAN NATURE IS IN ITS ESSENTIALS IMMUTABLE.

Individual Socialists who are better than their philosophical creed will, of course, refuse to accept this conclusion, but they will do so at the expense of logic and consistency.

As we saw in the January number of this magazine, the theory of economic determinism traces all the non-economic institutions, beliefs, and processes of society, such as the family, law, religion, ethics, and education, to economic conditions and causes. "The mode of production in material life," says Marx, "determines the social, political, and spiritual processes of life." ("A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," p. 11; N. Y., 1904.) To quote the words of my opponent in his last month's article, "the manner in which it [a nation] produces its sustenance ultimately determines its form of organization, division of work or functions, and its notions of right and wrong—its politics, social classes, and ethics."

Evidently men who believe that the universe is composed only of matter and force, that all things are incessantly changing and evolving, and that economic forces and changes govern and determine moral ideas, practises, and changes, can not logically admit the existence of an invariable and universal body of moral precepts and principles. In their view we have merely a group of varying moral codes which develop in, and respond to, the needs of different classes, nations, and ages. Moral laws are merely social laws.

According to this view, the most contradictory codes and practises can be equally true and good, or equally false and bad. There is neither a uniform standard of moral truth nor a moral law in the traditional sense. What we call moral laws are exactly like economic laws; that is, they are merely statements of the way in which different classes of men act or tend to act in a given set of circumstances. No longer is the moral law a categorical imperative, an obligatory rule of conduct, an enactment of Divine Reason. Men are morally free to act as they please, and to set up, either individually or by classes, their own codes of conduct.

This theory is opposed not only to the Christian conception, but to the convictions of every person who recognizes God as the Ruler of the Universe. Moral laws are unchangeable because they are based ultimately upon the unchangeable nature of God, and immediately upon the unchangeable elements of human nature. In other words, they are the rules of conduct which God necessarily lays down for the guidance of beings whom He has made after the human pattern, just as physical laws are the rules by which He directs the non-rational universe. And they are as immutable as human nature is in its essentials immutable.

The conception of an eternal and unvarying moral law finds expression in the pages of innumerable Christian writers from St. Paul (Rom. ii. 14, 15) to Hooker ("Ecclesiastical Polity," I, *passim*) and Cathrein ("Moralphilosophie"). Among other names that readily suggest themselves are those of Thomas Aquinas, Francisco Suarez, and Hugo Grotius. The doctrine is also clearly stated in the pages of such pagan writers as Plato ("The Republic," iv.), Sophocles, ("Antigone," v. 446-460), and Cicero ("Pro Milone," iv. 10).

The primary truths, relations, and actions which this standard of conduct describes and prescribes have always been in some degree understood by the majority of mankind. While the natural moral law is correctly said to be written in the human heart, it is not displayed in flaming headlines.

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Its primary and most essential provisions are intuitive to the human mind, just as are the elementary propositions of mathematics. Anything like a complete comprehension of its principles, applications, and conclusions can be attained only after considerable study, by trained intellects, in an enlightened society.

The differences which have existed and still exist in the moral notions and practises of various peoples and classes, prove nothing against the immutability of the law itself. Man's conception of the law is one thing; the law itself is quite another thing. Just as the race varies and grows in its comprehension of speculative and physical truths, so it makes progress in its perception of ethical truths and principles. Ethical evolution is undeniable; but it affects man's knowledge of the law, not the structure and content of the law. That individuals and nations have changed their moral estimate of certain practises—for example, slavery—no more indicates a variation in the objective moral law than an improved knowledge of disease and its treatment implies a change in the fundamental laws of hygiene. That men for a long time failed to perceive or recognize certain moral precepts, does not demonstrate the nonexistence of the latter, any more than the universal ignorance of the heliocentric theory proves that the earth first began to travel round the sun in the days of Copernicus.

INDIVIDUAL CONDUCT UNMORAL

The first specific doctrine of Socialist ethics is that the science has nothing to do with the purely self-regarding actions of the individual. Ethics deals only with man's social relations.

If purely individual conduct is outside the scope of the moral law, then it follows with absolute logical rigor that the rational part of man is not essentially superior to his animal nature, that soul is not intrinsically nobler than sense, that man has no more duties to himself than has a pig, that, so long as he does not injure his neighbors, he is morally free to live like a pig, and that his personality is not a sacred thing which he is *morally obliged* to develop, and which his fellows are under moral compulsion to respect. Lacking moral (as distinguished from intellectual, physical, and esthetic) value, the human individual has no more intrinsic worth and dignity than a chimpanzee. And society does him no moral wrong when it treats him accordingly.

According to the Christian and Theistic conception, all conduct, whether pertaining to self, the neighbor, or God, falls within the sphere of the moral law. When a man destroys his energies and shortens his life by dissipation, even though he thus injures no one but himself, he violates the moral law quite as definitely as when he steals or kills. To tell a man that actions of the former kind are devoid of ethical quality, is to assure him that he has no genuine obligation to avoid them. It assures him that no moral stigma attaches to the most degrading acts of personal impurity, gluttony, or bestiality. Conduct of this kind becomes as free from moral blame or guilt as the process of digestion. Socialists may shrink from this ugly conclusion, but only by throwing logic overboard.

LIMITED MONOGAMY AND EDUCATIONAL MONOPOLY

If only those actions which are injurious to the neighbor or to society can be called immoral, all unions and relations between the sexes which are not followed by offspring are without moral aspects. They are neither good nor bad. In such cases, says Belford Bax, the sexual act "does not concern morality at all. It is a question simply of individual taste." ("Ethics of Socialism," p. 126.) The same conclusion is drawn by Bebel: "The gratification of the sexual impulse is as strictly the personal affair of the individual as the gratification of every other natural instinct." ("Woman," p. 154; San Francisco, 1897.)

Again, the theory of economic determinism logically requires a new form of domestic society under Socialism. If the methods of production and exchange determine the character of all non-economic institutions, and if the present monogamous family is the necessary outcome of the present economic arrangements, the entirely different economic scheme provided under Socialism will necessarily bring with it a different kind of family. All the logical and courageous Socialists who have dealt with the subject accept this conclusion.

Engels writes thus: "With the transformation of the means of production into

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collective property, the monogamous family ceases to be the economic unit of society. . . . The indissolubility of marriage is partly the consequence of the economic conditions under which monogamy arose, partly tradition from the time when the connection between the economic situation and monogamy, not yet fully understood, was carried to extremes by religion. To-day it has been perforated a hundred times. If marriage founded on love alone is moral, then it follows that marriage is moral only as long as love lasts. The duration of an attack of individual sex love varies considerably according to individual disposition, especially in men. A positive cessation of sex fondness, or its replacement by a new passionate love, makes separation a blessing for both parties and society." ("The Origin of the Family," pp. 91, 99; Chicago, 1902.)

NO INTELLIGENT CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT, JEW, OR OTHER BELIEVER IN THE TRADITIONAL MARRIAGE IS JUSTIFIED IN GIVING AID TO PRESENT-DAY SOCIALISM.

In the preface to the volume from which these extracts are taken, Engels intimates that his view of the family is likewise that of Marx.

Forecasting the position of woman under Socialism, Bebel declares:

"In the choice of love she is free, just as man is free. She wooes and is wooed, and has no other inducement to bind herself than her own free will. The contract between the two lovers is of a private nature as in primitive times, without the intervention of any functionary. . . . Should incompatibility, disappointment, and dislike ensue, morality demands the dissolution of a tie that has become unnatural, and therefore immoral." ("Woman," p. 154.)

The foregoing passages were written about thirty years ago. Kautsky, the ablest and most authoritative living Socialist, gave expression to the following sentiments as late as 1906:

"The same phenomenon, say, of free sexual intercourse or of indifference to property, can in one case be the product of moral depravity in a society where strict monogamy and the sanctity of property are recognized as necessary; in another case it can be the highly moral product of a healthy social organism which requires for its social needs neither property in a particular woman, nor property in a particular means of consumption and production." ("Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History," pp. 193, 194; Chicago, 1913.)

Similar views are defended by Morris and Bax ("Growth and Outcome of Socialism," pp. 299, 300; N. Y., 1893), Edward Carpenter ("Love's Coming of Age," p. 67; N. Y., 1911), Ernest Untermann (Preface to "The Origin of the Family," p. 7), Charles H. Kerr ("The Folly of Being Good," p. 23), and many others among the lesser lights of the Socialist movement.

These pestiferous notions concerning the institution of the family continue to be widely diffused through Socialist books, Socialist publishing houses, and Socialist authorities of every description; nor have they ever been repudiated by any significant number of prominent Socialists. In these circumstances it seems not unfair to say that marital unions dissoluble at the will of the parties is the approved Socialist doctrine.

In any case, the views in question are so generally circulated and accepted within the movement that no intelligent Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or other believer in the traditional marriage is justified in giving aid or countenance to present-day Socialism.

As a natural corollary to their doctrine of "marriage for love," Socialists subscribe more or less generally and definitely to the theory that the child belongs to the State. Hence their demand for State monopoly of education. The most authoritative of all the Socialist platforms, the "Erfurter Program," demands "secularization of the schools; compulsory education in the public schools." While this demand was addressed to the present "capitalist" State, its objects would undoubtedly be quite as warmly desired by the Socialists when they had established the Collectivist Commonwealth. Even that plausible and persuasive compromiser, John Spargo, is of opinion that

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the Socialist régime would probably not tolerate private elementary schools, nor permit religious teaching in any kind of schools, "up to a certain age." ("Socialism," p. 238; N. Y., 1906.)

The rearing of children, especially those of dissolved "love" unions, would become to a much greater extent than to-day the business of the State. While a Socialist industrial order might conceivably require all parents to provide for the future of their young children by some kind of insurance, the current thought of the movement seems to contemplate no such arrangement.

THE SOCIALIST STATE AS CREATOR OF RIGHT AND WRONG

Socialists expect that their proposed reorganization of society will bring about a condition of general happiness. This is the ideal that they desire to realize. It is also, in their view, the guide and law for present-day conduct. "All factors that impede the path to its approximate realization are anti-ethical and immoral; contrariwise, all factors and movements which tend in its direction are ethical." (Hillquit, "Socialism in Theory and Practise," pp. 59, 60.)

In passing, I would observe that this statement looks very much like an attempt to formulate a *universal* ethical law. The task of reconciling it with his general denial of the attribute of universality to moral rules, I shall leave to the ingenuity of my opponent. The really important point about this rule of conduct is its logical soundness from the viewpoint of the *practical aims* of Socialism. If the Socialist reconstruction of things be the supreme goal of humanity, all existing actions ought to be subordinated and directed to the furtherance of those causes and movements which make for the Collectivist Commonwealth.

Hence all persons except the capitalists and their allies will adopt this as the supreme standard of conduct. "As fast as they become class conscious, they will recognize and praise as moral all conduct that tends to hasten the social revolution, and they will condemn as unhesitatingly immoral all conduct that tends to prolong the dominance of the capitalist class." (La Monte, "Socialism, Positive and Negative," p. 64; Chicago, 1907).

Consider this gem from the pen of the usually mild and soft-spoken John Spargo:

"If the class to which I belong could be set free from exploitation by violation of the laws made by the master class, by open rebellion, by seizing the property of the rich, by setting the torch to a few buildings, or by summary execution of a few members of the possessing class, I hope that the courage to share in the work should be mine." ("Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, and Socialism," pp. 172, 173.)

To promote the advent of the Socialist State is, therefore, according to the current Socialist view, the final end of conduct and the ultimate determinant of morality. All actions that contribute to the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of collectivism are reasonable and good. The grossest deeds of violence against persons and property, the crudest confiscation of capitalist goods, are morally justified if they are really conducive to this end. While the majority of Socialist leaders apparently condemn the destructive methods of Syndicalism, they are not actuated by moral principles, but by considerations of expediency.

I do not recall having read a single Socialist condemnation of such practises on the ground that they are morally wrong.

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS MUST BE RECOGNIZED

Against this restatement of the ethics of savagery the Christian and the Theist proclaim the everlasting truth that life and property are morally inviolable. Whatever economic changes are necessary (and they are many and various) must be effected by orderly processes which will respect the right of ownership as well as other kinds of rights.

The theory that social welfare is the determinant of morality, would be fatal to the rights and welfare of the individual. At no given time is the well-being of the State identical with the well-being of all its members. Hence the Socialist Commonwealth might quite consistently and expediently kill off the feeble-minded, the physically incurable, and all persons who did not produce their keep.

The minority would have no rights that the majority would feel morally bound to respect.

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SOCIALISM AND MORALITY

BY MORRIS HILLQUIT

SOCIALISTS generally accept the definition of Ethics as the art or science of right conduct of men toward their fellow men. This conception is by no means peculiar to them. Practically all authoritative modern writers agree that ethical or moral conduct must have a social implication.

In this view the highest moral conduct on the part of man is that which is most conducive to the general happiness and welfare of the community, and, conversely, the highest moral conduct on the part of the community is such as is most conducive to the happiness and welfare of each and every individual member of it. There is nothing new or startling in this doctrine. It is merely the more modern and scientific formulation of the Golden Rule—Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.

This great moral ideal has never been generally attained for the reason that the existing social and economic conditions have made it impossible of full realization.

All history of mankind up to the present has been tainted with national and class struggles. In the constant endeavor to secure their material existence, to enhance their wealth and resources, and to increase their domain, the nations of the world have always been in a state of intermittent war with one another. The material interests which prompted this strife and warfare were, as usual, spontaneously translated into ethical notions, and each nation accordingly developed a dual standard of morality, one applicable to its own members, and the other, diametrically opposed to it, to "hostile" nations.

Thus while every civilized nation abhors crimes against the person or property of its own members and brands them as revoltingly immoral, it glorifies murder, pillage, and many unspeakable crimes if committed on members of other nations as acts of warfare.

And just as the material needs of the contending nations determine the code of international ethics, so do the material exigencies of each nation within its own domain determine its national code of ethics.

Let us illustrate that theory by an analysis of the prevailing or "capitalist" morality.

In modern society each individual is sent out into the world to secure his existence, not in cooperation, but in competition, in war with his fellow men. The prime task of "making a living" naturally and necessarily degenerates into the ambition to "make money." The amount of wealth accumulated by the individual is the generally accepted measure of his "success in life." The "pauper" is an object of social contempt, and the millionaire invariably has the esteem and obsequious veneration of his fellow citizens, who rarely stop to inquire into the origin or social significance of his acquired wealth. Practically everything is permissible and even praiseworthy so long as it makes money.

Thus we abhor murder in all its forms—in the abstract; but when our factory, mine, or mill owners daily undermine the health and shorten the lives of tender-aged children by overwork and pestilential surroundings, or permit the killing of employees by preventable accidents, in the ordinary and "legitimate" course of their business, we are not inclined to attach the slightest moral stigma to their conduct.

The wretch who in the heat of passion would put poison into another man's food is despised by the community as a cowardly assassin; but the wealthy manufacturer or dealer who systematically adulterates, dopes, and poisons foodstuffs and other articles intended for general consumption, in the cold-blooded pursuit of profits, is a perfectly respectable member of society.

No language can express the depth of the loathing and execration with which we regard the white-slave trafficker, who lures or forces women into lives of shame for paltry profits to himself; but the department-store owner, who drives hundreds of poor struggling girls into lives of prostitution by low pay, as a mere incident in his process of fortune-building, is often of the material of which are made our church deacons and Sunday-school superintendents.

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SOCIALIST MORALITY

Socialists are not inclined to place the blame for these perverse capitalist notions of ethics on the individual "malefactors." As believers in the economic interpretation of history they realize that ethical notions and the conduct of individuals, classes, and nations are primarily determined by material conditions, which exist independently of the personal will and inclinations of man. Self-preservation is the supreme law of nature for nations as well as individuals. The conditions of such preservation depend upon the material surroundings, and nothing short of a change of these surroundings will alter human habits and notions. The man-eating customs of certain savage tribes and their practise of killing their feeble and aged members are not to be ascribed to a savage predilection for murder, but to scarcity of food among them. As soon as such tribes develop to the point of increasing their food supply by artificial means, they begin to realize that cannibalism and the killing of parents are immoral.

Socialism aims to establish an order of society based on cooperative effort and collective enjoyment in place of the present individual competitive warfare. The Socialists also maintain that all modern nations are economically self-sufficient or nearly so; that international wars have ceased to have the justification of necessity, and are now conducted mainly in behalf of the profit-seeking capitalist classes—for the conquest of new markets. The introduction of the Socialist order would put an end to the perennial economic and social strife between individuals, classes, and nations, and would for the first time in history create an economic order in which the welfare of each individual would be truly linked with that of all of his fellows, or society at large.

The reason why the abstract principles of Christian ethics have been preached for well-nigh two thousand years with so little practical success is just that they have been preached in the abstract, and have failed to take into account the impelling power of material conditions and needs. Socialism endeavors to lay the solid economic foundation upon which alone the sublime moral doctrines of the Nazarene can be actually realized.

In spite of the fact that Socialist morality may thus be said to be truly "Christian," my distinguished opponent rejects it in every part and phase.

Modern science regards the development of the moral sense as a part or phase of the general process of human evolution. As the advance of human civilization is signalized by ever-improving methods of wealth production, by ever-increasing efficiency of social and political organizations, and by the ever-growing keenness and profundity of the individual human mind, so is it accompanied by an ever-rising level of human morality, or sense of duty of man toward man.

The Socialists accept this theory as modified and supplemented by the economic interpretation of history. They recognize that ethical notions are subject to changes and development, but they hold that such development is primarily determined by economic conditions, *i. e.*, that a low economic order will result in poor ethics, while improved economic conditions and relations are conducive to better morals.

DR. RYAN'S OBJECTIONS

Dr. Ryan grows morally indignant over the theory that "the rules of morality are neither eternal nor immutable," and that "moral rules are temporary and variable." According to his notion, this theory leads to the principle that "murder, lying, theft, rape, treachery, and 'disobedience' may be morally good at some time and in some place." My esteemed opponent seems to confound a mere objective and dispassionate statement of fact with a declaration of a principle or conviction. Evolutionists in general and Socialists in particular do not approve of the horrid string of crimes enumerated by Dr. Ryan. But they can not shut their eyes to the notorious fact that these crimes have been considered moral or indifferent "at some time or in some place" in the past, and that they are still so considered in some forms and under some conditions.

Dr. Ryan's own view of the nature of ethics is expressed in the following language:

"Moral laws are unchangeable because they are based ultimately upon the unchangeable nature of God, and immediately upon the unchangeable elements of human nature. In other words, they are the rules of conduct which God necessarily lays

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down for the guidance of beings whom He has made after the human pattern, just as physical laws are the rules by which He directs the non-rational universe."

The statement is emphatic, but unfortunately it is somewhat lacking in meaning and can hardly be squared with the known facts and conditions.

"VARIABLE ETHICS"

Dr. Ryan is too keen a thinker to ignore the discrepancy between the theory of "immutable" rules of ethics and the history of constant changes in the moral conceptions and practises of men; and in an attempt to reconcile the contradiction he advances a very subtle metaphysical theory. The failure on the part of men to recognize the eternal and immutable ethical truth, he argues, does not prove the non-existence of such truth "any more than the universal ignorance of the heliocentric theory proves that the earth first began to travel round the sun in the days of Copernicus."

SOCIALISM ENDEAVORS TO LAY THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION UPON WHICH ALONE THE SUBLIME MORAL DOCTRINES OF THE NAZARENE CAN BE REALIZED.

The comparison is not very happy. The immutable law of planetary rotation always expressed itself in the uniform conduct of the heavenly bodies. The earth revolved around the sun at all times and under all conditions even before Copernicus first perceived it, but the moral notions and *moral conduct* of men always varied in spite of the alleged immutable ethical law, *i. e.*, rule of human conduct.

"Just as the race varies and grows in its comprehension of speculative and physical truth, so it makes progress in its perception of ethical truth and principles," concludes Dr. Ryan. This is a very substantial concession on his part. For if it be admitted that the human race gradually improves and changes its notions of right and wrong, and fashions its conduct accordingly, it matters but little if we assume for our amusement or solace that at the same time there always exists an abstract, inactive, and ineffective code of final and immutable ethics, illegibly written somewhere "in the human heart." The changes in moral notions and moral conduct, which are thus recognized by both of us, constitute the essence of "variable ethics."

Another theory which provokes my opponent's indignation is that morality is concerned only with man's social relations.

"If purely individual conduct is outside of the moral law," he exclaims, "then it follows with absolute logical rigor that the rational part of man is not essentially superior to his animal nature, that soul is not intrinsically nobler than sense, that man has no more duties to himself than has a pig."

Dr. Ryan wastes his good rhetoric on this proposition. Without assuming to pass upon the respective rank or degree of nobility of man's "rational part" and his "animal nature," his "soul" and his "sense," and without attempting to defend the deplorably low state of the ethics of the pig, I will say that the Socialists do not neglect or underestimate the spiritual side of man's existence.

Socialism aims at the highest development of all human capacities, physical, mental, spiritual, esthetic, and moral. But the mere enumeration of these attributes shows that they belong to different and separate domains. The physical health, intellectual attainments, and esthetic sense of the human being are his individual attributes; his moral notions and conduct pertain to his social relations. We strive for perfection in all spheres of human existence, but nothing can be gained, save confusion in thought and action, by an attempt to throw them all within the one sphere of *morality*.

The second half of Dr. Ryan's paper is devoted very largely to the criticism of the Socialist attitude toward the family. Let us examine his objections under that head.

One of the gravest counts in the Socialist indictment of the prevailing order is that it poisons the purity and destroys the sanctity of family life among all classes of society. The workingman's "household" is in a vast

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number of cases miserably shattered by the precarious condition of its material foundation. When the man's earnings are insufficient for the support of the family, the wife and mother is inevitably driven from her "womanly" functions at the fireside and in the nursery into the coarse atmosphere and exacting toil of the factory room. The "home" degenerates into mere night lodgings where the mates meet for short intervals, mostly in a condition of physical exhaustion and in a gloomy, irritable mood.

And the children? They grow up as best they can in the streets and gutters while they are very young, and they follow their parents into the factory—the all-powerful and all-absorbing temple of Capitalism—before they are strong enough for continuous physical work. This is the typical working-man's "home" as it exists in the slums and tenement districts of our large and numerous industrial centers—it is vastly different from the sentimental picture habitually drawn by the complacent moral philosopher.

SOCIALISM AND MARRIAGE

Among the "middle classes," in which the woman as a rule does not work, and is entirely dependent on the man for her material needs, being married is her sole gainful occupation. Marriage is at least as often a matter of business as it is a matter of love, and the poor feminine victim of our irrational social system is often tied for life to a man repulsive and disgusting to her, but indispensable as a provider for her needs.

Among the classes of the wealthy, on the other hand, the women can often afford the luxury of purchasing in marriage a foreign title attached to a dissipated and dilapidated specimen of mankind, while the men can afford to support hosts of mistresses.

Marriage and marital cohabitation thus become unhappy partnerships in economic misery, business arrangements, purchases or sales—anything but unions of love. Of course, there are still very numerous cases of marital happiness based on genuine mutual affection, but such true unions persist in spite of the prevailing social and economic conditions, not because of them.

Socialism will vastly raise the economic level of the masses and will put an end to the material dependence of adult normal human beings on others. It will thus remove all sordid mercenary motives from marriage, and will naturally leave but one basis of marital union—mutual love. It is a logical corollary of the proposition that a union based on love can only endure so long as the love continues. In other words, most Socialists stand for dissolubility of the marriage ties at the pleasure of the contracting parties.

Dr. Ryan may call this doctrine "pestiferous," but I hold that marital cohabitation without love is positively immoral and quite akin to prostitution. He maintains that "the theory of economic determinism logically requires a new form of domestic society under Socialism." It would be more correct to say that Socialism would introduce a new type of marital relations—the type of actual and lasting monogamy. Just because under Socialism marriage will be based on true love rather than economic considerations, the chances are that it will endure in undimmed and lifelong purity in a much larger number of cases than to-day.

Nor do Dr. Ryan's fears that the Socialist state would monopolize the rearing and education of the children seem to me at all well-founded. A Socialist administration would certainly provide an ample number of adequate and efficient public schools for all grades and kinds of instruction, and would retain and extend the system of compulsory education; but there is absolutely no warrant in the Socialist program or philosophy for the assumption that the government would withdraw the education of children from the control and supervision of the parents, or interfere with any desire on the part of the latter to give their children the benefit of supplemental private or school instruction in any subject they may choose.

SOCIALISM AND LAWLESSNESS

Dr. Ryan's final attack is aimed at what he conceives to be the practical code of Socialist ethics. He maintains that in the Socialist view "all actions which further the overthrow of Capitalism . . . are reasonable and good. The grossest deeds of violence against persons and property, the crudest confiscation of capitalist goods, are morally justified if they are really conducive to this end."

As to the bugaboo of "confiscation," the subject has been fully disposed of in an

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earlier article of this series, and as to "deeds of violence," it is sufficient to state that the International Socialist movement is clearly and emphatically committed to the view that they are not "conducive to the overthrow of Capitalism."

Socialism is an evolutionary philosophy. It affirms that great social changes can only be brought about when all social factors required for the change, *i. e.*, economic conditions, popular opinion, organization of the masses, etc., have fully matured. Violence can not hasten the process of social development, and if adopted as a method of the Socialist propaganda, it could only result in confusion and demoralization within the ranks of the active Socialists, and in strengthening the position of their opponents.

Dr. Ryan quotes my good friend John Spargo as praying for the courage to do sundry violent and desperate things, if by doing so he could bring about the social salvation of the working class. But my opponent neglects to inform the reader that the blood-curdling hypothetical prayer of the "usually mild and soft-spoken" Socialist author is only a rhetorical introduction to his very emphatic assertion that violence can not accomplish anything good, and that if applied by the working class it would only leave it "more hopelessly enslaved than ever" and would "destroy its *morale* as a fighting force." In fact, Spargo's entire book from which the disjointed passage is quoted was written in defense of lawful methods in the struggle for social betterment.

The Socialist movement has always fought the anarchists and advocates of violence within the labor movement as it fights the more numerous and dangerous anarchists and perpetrators of violence within the ranks of the capitalist class. The international Socialist conventions admit no organizations whose programs are not based on the peaceful methods of working-class politics, and the Socialist Party of the United States has formally adopted a rule providing for the expulsion of any member who may advocate violence in connection with the Socialist propaganda.

"But," says my opponent, "these actions are based on mere considerations of expediency and not on moral grounds." To this I can only answer—Blessed is the movement whose practical notions of expediency coincide so well with the abstract precepts of the highest morality.

REBUTTAL BY DR. RYAN

IN HIS reply to my main article, Mr. Hillquit admits substantially that I have stated correctly the essentials of Socialist ethics. Naturally he disagrees with me concerning the validity and value of those ethical doctrines. In the following pages I shall attempt to meet some of his more important arguments, and to bring out somewhat more clearly the sinister significance of the moral theories which permeate the Socialist movement.

Applying the theory of economic determinism to international relations, my opponent asserts that material interests have led the nations to adopt dual and "diametrically opposite" standards of morality, one for themselves and another for the peoples without.

Have they? Civilized nations forbid the killing of their own citizens except on account of capital crimes. A "diametrically opposite" rule in relation to foreigners would permit the assassination of the latter in the absence of any such offenses. Will my opponent cite a single civilized people that has explicitly adopted or defended this principle?

Nor have the civilized peoples sanctioned this principle *implicitly*. Waging war on foreign nations no more implies approval of murder than does the legal execution of criminals, or individual homicide. In every war one of the belligerents is necessarily contending for advantages to which it has no moral right, and is therefore in the position of an unjust aggressor. Sometimes the wrongful nation realizes the immorality of its course, just as the individual murderer sometimes recognizes the wickedness of his action. Perhaps in the majority of cases the offending nation thinks that it has a proper grievance, that it is merely defending its genuine rights. Its mistaken interpretation of the moral law no more involves

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approval of the principle of murder than does the homicidal performance of a lynching party or a Kentucky feudist.

WAR VS. MURDER

On the other hand, the nation that is in the right defends its position by force of arms on quite the same solid moral ground as it puts to death capital offenders among its own citizens, and with quite the same justification as that which authorizes the individual to protect his own life against the murderous attack of a highwayman.

Perhaps the simplest and clearest indication that war does not imply approval of murder, is the fact that civilized belligerents refrain, even to their own disadvantage, from killing women and other non-combatants.

In the field of industrial relations, continues my opponent, we likewise see the all-determining influence of material interests upon moral conceptions. By the rules of the "prevailing capitalist morality," "practically everything is permissible and praiseworthy so long as it makes money."

As a matter of fact, the current moral conceptions condemn all the industrial evils enumerated in Mr. Hillquit's lurid paragraphs. In proof of this statement I would call attention to the mass of corrective legislation already enacted, and certain to be enacted. Not even the capitalist class has ever formally accepted the principle that practically everything is lawful which "makes money." If they frequently act in such a way as to suggest to the uncritical that they believe in this principle, they are influenced by several other considerations than crude and simple greed.

One cause of such conduct has been the prevalence of the plausible but fundamentally false ethical theory propounded with more or less definiteness by the classical economists, that every free contract is a fair contract. Another is the failure of many employers to realize the existence or the extent of the industrial evils in question. Moreover, a large class of employers either lull to sleep or deliberately violate their better moral perceptions. Another large group, possibly the majority, are unable, on account of the keenness of business competition, to remedy the bad conditions. Finally, employers as a whole realize both the evils and their own responsibility much more fully than they did half a century ago.

As I have more than once observed in the course of this debate, the economic interests and conditions of individuals and of classes do prevent them from estimating fairly and accurately the morality of many kinds of conduct. But this is quite a different statement from the assertion that moral notions and practises are *primarily* determined, caused to be what they are, by material conditions and interests. So long as men admit that they are obliged *sometimes* to subordinate their own interests to the welfare of their fellows or to moral principle, they show conclusively that material conditions are not the supreme determinant of ethical beliefs and conduct.

In passing, I would note that according to Socialist theory moral ideas and actions are determined by material conditions not only primarily but *necessarily*. "Socialists," declares my opponent, "are not inclined to place the blame for these perverse capitalist notions of ethics upon the individual 'malefactors.'" Hence the moral beliefs and deeds of men are beyond the control of the human will. Hence the labor-crushing capitalist, no less than the bomb-throwing exemplar of sabotage, is relieved of all strictly moral accountability. Both are helpless instruments of material forces!

MR. HILLQUIT'S ENTANGLED LOGIC

I did not say, nor even intimate, that any Socialist "approves of the horrid string of crimes" which I enumerated in the fourth paragraph of my principal article. What I said was that the Marxian who is logical must admit the possibility that all these may some time become legitimate; but I did not venture the assertion that all Socialists are logical.

In the opinion of my opponent, the ethical standard which I have defended is "somewhat lacking in meaning." It is, indeed, somewhat abstract and technical, but so are all summary statements of fundamental truth. And yet it is more concrete and practical than his standard of general happiness. When we say that man's rational nature is the unvarying rule of conduct, we mean: first, that he must not use his faculties in such a way as to frustrate their natural end, or the natural end of his entire being; second, that his animal or sense nature must be subordinated to his rational

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or spirit nature; third, that by nature all men are essentially equal, and have substantially equal claims upon one another; fourth, that they are inferior and owe unqualified obedience to God; and, fifth, that they are essentially superior to the brute creation.

A FIXED MORAL STANDARD

In his endeavor to establish the variableness of the moral law, my opponent rejects the distinction which I drew between the law and the understanding of it by human beings. This distinction he calls "a subtle metaphysical theory." It is neither subtle nor metaphysical, but obvious and logical. Quite as aptly might he apply this phrase to the effort to distinguish between a civil law and the varying popular knowledge of it, or between the established principles of medical science and the various conceptions of them prevailing throughout a community.

The immutable law of planetary rotation, continues Mr. Hillquit, always expressed itself in the uniform "conduct" of the heavenly bodies, but the moral notions and *conduct* of men varied in spite of the "alleged immutable laws."

But the moral law likewise expressed itself at all times. Its provisions could be read in man's natuie and in his essential relations to other beings. And the majority of mankind did perceive this objective expression, this enduring record, of the moral law long before any of them discovered the law of planetary rotation.

If we admit that the race makes moral progress, contends my opponent, it matters little whether we believe in the objective existence of a code of "final and immutable ethics." But how can we know whether the changes in moral notions and actions to which we give the name of progress are properly so called, unless we have some permanently valid code of ethics, some supreme standard, some moral ideal, by which we can distinguish the good from the bad in conduct, and the genuine from the imitation in moral progress? Precisely because since men have possessed the conception of such a standard, however vaguely defined, they have been able to discern and to follow, however dimly and haltingly, the way of improvement.

Nor can my opponent save the situation by bringing in his standard of general welfare or general happiness. If there be no such thing as objective and immutable ethical rules, on what rational ground can the individual be required to subordinate his own welfare or pleasure to that of the community? Why should this standard suddenly become morally binding upon its adoption by the Socialist State? It is quite in order for the individual to remonstrate:

"On your own principle, your ethical code is fundamentally relative; for it is but the expression of what you conceive to be the needs of your present form of society. It has no more genuine moral force, authority, or obligation than any other code that has ever been set up by any other society or social class. I claim the right to make my own ethics."

To this objection the only possible reply of the Socialist State would be the enforcement of the argument of superior brute force. Might and right would have become identical.

AN IMPOSSIBLE COMPROMISE

My opponent declines to commit himself to the view that the rational is nobler than the animal element in man, or that soul is intrinsically superior to sense; yet he asserts that Socialists do not underestimate the spiritual side of man, and that they strive for perfection in all spheres of human existence.

By the very fact that he refuses to recognize without hesitation or question the intrinsic superiority of the rational over the sense faculties, he does underestimate the spiritual element. By putting the rational or spiritual on the same level of importance with the physical nature, he declares implicitly that to exercise the latter, to indulge the physical appetites, in those purely individual acts of dissipation and sensuality which atrophy the intellect and brutalize the will, constitutes conduct that is quite as laudable and reasonable as the loftiest activity of the intellect or the firmest control of the passions. Since there is no difference of moral importance or worth between the two sets of faculties, each man enjoys full liberty, moral as well as physical and psychological, to choose for himself which faculties he shall exercise most, to choose whether he shall live like a man or like a

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brute; and no moral stigma can attach to one choice more than to the other.

If individual conduct be outside the moral law, then no man has any moral obligation toward himself; hence his "striving for perfection" is not a moral obligation, but an entirely optional performance. It is no more good, reasonable, or laudable than the practise of the most degrading personal debauchery.

"MONOGAMY" THAT IS NOT MONOGAMY

Mr. Hillquit admits that the monogamous family, understood as a permanent union, would and should disappear under Socialism. For he advocates, not indeed sexual promiscuity, but unions dissoluble at the will of the parties themselves. By removing all mercenary motives from marriage, he will leave but one basis of conjugal union—mutual love. To quote his own words: "A union based on love can endure only so long as love continues. In other words, most Socialists, in common with most sensible and enlightened persons, stand for dissolubility of the marriage tie at the pleasure of the contracting parties."

But, contends my opponent, these "love" unions would "endure in undimmed and lifelong purity in a much larger number of cases than to-day."

While an extended reply to this assertion is impossible for want of space, and unnecessary because my main purpose has been merely to bring out the real attitude of Socialists on the question of monogamy, a few summaries of controverting arguments may not be out of place.

a. The theory before us assumes that under Socialism the actual opportunity of making their own living would be open to all women as an easy alternative to marriage. This implies a vast increase in the proportion of women in industrial occupations. Such a situation is neither morally nor socially desirable. Probably nine-tenths of the women who are now engaged in manufacture, and a large proportion of those in trade and transportation, are performing tasks which are physically and morally detrimental to themselves, and therefore to the race. It is not possible that Socialism or any other scheme would change essentially the nature or effects of these industrial operations.

b. The assumption that it is somehow degrading for a woman to depend upon a man for a livelihood, or to allow material considerations to influence her choice of a husband, is cheap and shallow. It is adopted mainly by those who are enmeshed in a superficial a priori social philosophy, and by that blatant and shameless little group of sexual creatures who think they are "advanced feminists," and who would like to make women over into a bad imitation of men. In the light of nature and common sense, it is no more unbecoming for a woman to depend upon a man for her livelihood than for a man to depend upon a woman for his meals, the care of the household, or the bearing and nursing of children.

c. Even under Socialism, many women would still find that they could better their condition by marrying a higher-paid man. And large numbers of them would have sense enough left to see that marriage is natural, while most industrial employments are to them unnatural and harmful, and that marriage even on a lower economic level is on the whole preferable to "economic independence." To assume that these two classes of women would not marry until they were certain that love was the only determining motive, is to betray a lofty indifference to some of the most palpable facts of human nature and human life.

> MOST SOCIALISTS STAND FOR DISSOLUBILITY OF THE MARRIAGE TIE AT THE PLEASURE OF THE CONTRACTING PARTIES.

d. Has my opponent any data to show that divorce is less common among love-marriages than among those that have taken into account other considerations? Is romantic love the only, or the most powerful, factor in the permanence of conjugal unions?

e. Moreover, when men and women realize that their unions are terminable at will, they will be much more likely than now to mistake passion and infatuation for love, both before and after marriage, and much

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more liable to neglect such considerations as mind, character, and consequences.

My opponent assures me that Socialism would not withdraw the education of children from the control and supervision of the parents, nor prevent the latter from giving their children the benefit of "supplemental private or school instruction in any subject they may choose."

Thus the only instruction to be permitted outside the public schools will be merely "supplemental." Although this "supplemental" training may be given in a private school as well as at home, the child will be compelled to attend the public school regularly, and to follow all the courses taught therein. No parent will be allowed to educate his child wholly or mainly outside the public school. What is this if it be not monopoly of education?

"EXPEDIENCY" JUSTIFIES ALL MEANS AND ACTIONS

I never denied that Mr. Spargo and the International Socialist movement condemned deeds of violence. I merely maintained that their condemnation was based not upon moral grounds, but upon mere expediency. I asserted that no authoritative Socialist denounces such practises as morally wrong. And my opponent admits the correctness of these contentions when he "can only answer: Blessed is the movement whose practical notions of expediency coincide so well with the abstract precepts of the highest morality."

If this be not an implicit assertion that violence is morally lawful whenever it is expedient for Socialism, and a virtual confession that my interpretation of Socialist thought on the subject is accurate, I am forced to the conclusion that my opponent is using language in a purely esoteric sense, of which he refuses to give up the key.

How exactly the Socialist notions of expediency "coincide" with abstract moral precepts, is beautifully illustrated in the recent history of the I. W. W. faction of American Socialism. "The Industrial Workers of the World" accept the principle of expediency, but not the practical application of it offered by the majority of the party. Believing that "deeds of violence" *are* expedient in the war with Capitalism, they proceed to demolish, if possible, the "abstract precepts of the highest morality." Worse than all, they demonstrate that expediency is not expedient, since their interpretation of it has split the American Socialist party in twain. A similar situation obtains in the European movement.

What else could any thinking person expect? Preach the theory that a practise derives all its morality from expediency, and you open the way for the most reckless use, or abuse, of it by all those persons who will not accept you as its infallible interpreter.

REJOINDER BY MR. HILLQUIT

DR. RYAN'S rebuttal is largely an effort to fortify his arguments in support of his two main ethical precepts, the final and immutable character of the moral law and the indissolubility of marriage.

In my main paper I asserted that the moral notions and practises of individuals, classes, and nations are subject to variations and changes, and that the nature of such variations and the direction of such changes are largely determined by material needs and advantages. In support of this contention I instanced the callousness of capitalist morality as applied to industrial pursuits and the perverse moral notions which sanction international wars.

Dr. Ryan's reply to this contention may be fairly summed up in three points:

1. The killing of human beings, in war or in peace, is not always morally wrong. The nation "that is in the right" is justified on "solid moral grounds" in defending such right by "force of arms," and the community has a similar moral right to the "legal execution" of the "criminal" or "capital offender."

2. "Perhaps in the majority of cases the offending nation thinks that it has a proper grievance," and similarly, the offending capitalist often fails to realize the social iniquities of the prevailing industrial system.

3. "Sometimes the wrongful nation

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realizes the immorality of its course," but fails to admit it, just as a large class of the employers realize the moral depravity of their practises, but either "lull to sleep or deliberately violate their better moral perceptions."

Let us examine these arguments.

AS TO "CAPITAL OFFENDERS"

Dr. Ryan justifies the killing of "aggressors," "capital offenders," and "criminals," wholesalely in war or in retail "by legal process." But what is an "aggression" or "offense," and what is "innocence" or "defense," and how and by whom are they to be differentiated?

In the eyes of the average Englishman, the American colonists were decidedly hardened offenders when they seditiously refused to pay lawful taxes regularly imposed on them by parliament, while the colonists vowed that England was the aggressor and offender in attempting such taxation. To the mediæval Catholic governments the "heretic" was a capital offender, and even the infallible Catholic Church with its immutable notions of the moral law condoned that conception. Autocratic governments consider every active republican a "capital offender," and in return every republic considers it a crime to strive for the establishment of a monarchy. To the anarchist every capitalist is an offender; to the typical capitalist every "agitator" and labor-leader is a criminal.

All these different and opposite elements would cheerfully subscribe to Dr. Ryan's doctrine. What a picture of "eternal, invariable, and immutable ethics"!

But even less convincing than my opponent's moral justification of some wars and of all "legal executions" is his touching picture of the nation going to war in a sad and somber mood arising from the consciousness of its own guilt, and of the capitalist realizing the unrighteousness of his course. In actual experience such conscious offenders are rare. As a rule the belligerent nations are equally emphatic in their moral indignation against each other and equally loud in the patriotic protestations of their own offended innocence, while the churches of both countries send conflicting and bewildering prayers to the Almighty for the victory of their respective just causes.

As to the typical capitalists, they are usually in full accord with the position of that candid and pious American representative of their class who recently consoled his countrymen with the assurance that the Lord has ceded the treasures of the earth to certain "Christian gentlemen," who knew how to operate and capitalize them.

Dr. Ryan comes very much nearer the truth when he asserts that the offending nations and classes often fail to realize their wrongdoings. But perhaps this statement seems so convincing to me only because I have been contending for it all through this debate.

ETHICAL IDEAL VS. FINAL ETHICS

Dr. Ryan's final argument in support of his theory of immutability of the moral law, is that without such a standard moral progress would be impossible or, at any rate, unmeasurable. "How can we know," he queries, "whether the changes in moral notions and actions to which we give the name of progress are properly so-called, unless we have some *permanently* valid code of ethics?"

My opponent here seems to confound two entirely different ideas—Final Ethics and the Ethical Ideal. When he speaks of Final Ethics he has in mind a uniform unchanged and unchangeable code of morals, which was in existence at the first appearance of man and will remain in full force until the end of the world. An Ethical Ideal on the other hand means nothing more than the highest conception of morality to which the human mind can attain at a given stage of social and intellectual development. There is nothing permanent about it. On the contrary, it is its elasticity that constitutes its greatest worth. Such an ideal always represents a vast advance over the cruder ideals of the less civilized past, and it falls far short of the higher ideals which a better future will undoubtedly develop.

Another logical somersault my opponent performs in drawing his deductions from my views on the comparative importance of the various human capacities. Because I refuse to admit "the intrinsic superiority of the rational over the sense faculties," he concludes that I consider it "quite as laudable and reasonable" to indulge "in those purely individual acts of dissipation and sensuality which atrophy the intellect and brutalize the will" as in "the lofty activity of the intellect."

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In other words, he asserts that the person who holds the physical and intellectual functions of man in equal esteem must approve of the grossest *abuses* of the former just as much as of the most proper and normal uses of the latter.

THAT "SEMI-MONOGAMOUS" FAMILY

In my main paper on this subject I stated that most Socialists favor the dissolubility of the marriage tie at the pleasure of the contracting parties. My opponent construes this statement as an "admission" on my part "that the monogamous family, *understood as a permanent union*, would and should disappear under Socialism." By a skilful blending of the terms "permanent union," "indissoluble marriage," and "monogamy" he contrives to convey the impression that Socialism is opposed to the institution of monogamous marriage. There is absolutely no foundation for such an assertion.

A monogamous family is one formed by the union of one woman with one man. If in such union one of the mates dies and the survivor marries another spouse, the union continues to be monogamous, and if the partners divorce and each remarries, the resulting unions are still strictly monogamous. Conversely, if we should assume that the Mormon Church or some Islam government should sanction simultaneous unions between one man and several women and make such unions absolutely indissoluble, the latter would be polygamous and not monogamous. Socialists stand for strict monogamy coupled with the right of divorce, a right which is recognized in all civilized countries. But while the privilege of divorce is to-day accorded only for certain gross conjugal or personal misconduct, Socialists would extend that privilege to all persons whose marital life has been rendered loveless, joyless, and miserable for any reason whatsoever.

"Has my opponent any data to show that divorce is less common among love marriages than among those that have taken into account other considerations?" queries Dr. Ryan.

Of course I have not. The scanty marital statistics which the census furnishes us are unfortunately not based on love marriages alone, but on all present-day marriages, and these have largely been contracted for "other considerations." But just for that reason the available figures are rather interesting and by no means irrelevant to Dr. Ryan's question. Here they are: The total number of divorces granted in the United States between 1887 and 1906 was 900,584; in other words, within a period of twenty years, or about half of the duration of a normal conjugal life, over 1,800,000 persons were divorced from each other by formal judicial decree. In 1906 there were 72,062 divorces against 853,290 marriages—one divorce for every twelve marriages.

These figures convey some notion of the extent of marital unhappiness under prevailing conditions, especially if we bear in mind that divorce actions in our courts are distasteful and repulsive proceedings, which the more sensitive individuals try to avoid at any cost. The greatest conjugal tragedies are not enacted in open court-room, but are suffered in tearful silence in the seclusion of the shattered home.

Nor is divorce the only curb upon present-day marriages. The "other considerations" than love to which my opponent alludes, involve among other things the economic ability of the man to support a family. And this ability is on the constant decrease in our blissful capitalist system, with the rising cost of living, insufficient wages, and general economic insecurity. According to the census figures of 1910 the total male population of the country, twenty years old and over, was about 28,000,000. Out of these 8,102,062 were single, 1,470,280 widowed, and 155,815 divorced. Out of the 25,500,000 women over twenty years old 4,947,406 were single, 3,165,967 were widowed, and 181,418 divorced.

Thus out of a total of 53,500,000 adult Americans 18,000,000, or more than a third, were unmated. "This," observes Commissioner Rittenhouse, who was charged with the task of investigating the alarming facts, "is an unfortunate and startling state of affairs. Moreover, from the ranks of the unmarried comes humanity's *heaviest contribution to immorality and crime*." Yes, especially when aided by the economic misery of millions of women. If my opponent wants more "data" on this interesting subject, I respectfully refer him to Mr. Kneeland's reports of vice conditions in New York and Chicago,* and the harrowing

*Report of Municipal Vice Commission. Chicago, 1911. "Commercialized Prostitution," by George J. Kneeland. New York, 1913.

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revelations contained in them. A marriage made in the counting-room and terminating in the divorce courts; a "monogamous" marriage supplemented by wholesale enforced celibacy and tempered by open prostitution and clandestine adultery—such is the typical marriage under Capitalism, which my opponent seeks to save from the onslaughts of the wicked Socialists.

WOMAN AND INDUSTRY

My opponent's main argument against what he derisively terms "love-unions" is that since such unions are largely predicated on economic independence, their realization calls for a "vast increase in the proportion of women in industrial occupations." Such a situation, however, he considers highly undesirable because "probably nine-tenths of the women who are now engaged in manufacture, and a large proportion of those in trade and transportation, are performing tasks which are physically and morally detrimental to themselves, and therefore to the race."

Dr. Ryan seems to overlook the fact that the prevailing conditions of work are "physically and morally detrimental" not to women alone, but to men as well, and that these conditions are not inherent in industry, but are made so by the exigencies of the capitalist system based on intense and merciless exploitation of labor.

Socialism strives to render work more wholesome, easy, and attractive, and to secure to each working man a return sufficient to enable him to take care of his family in decency and comfort. Under such conditions women's work will naturally cease to be "physically and morally detrimental," and besides, they will not be forced to engage in industrial employment unless their family duties will permit them and unless they freely choose to do so. Will women under such conditions continue to take active part in the industrial life of the nation? At the risk of being classed by my opponent with that "blatant and shameless" group of "feminists," I venture the prediction that very many of them will.

Dr. Ryan seems to assume in his argument: 1. That all women are married; 2. That all married women bear children 3. That all married women bear children and nurse them all the time.

All these assumptions, to borrow a happy phrase from my opponent, violate "some of the most palpable facts of human nature and human life."

In his rebuttal Dr. Ryan again reverts to the charge that Socialist morality is based on expediency rather than on abstract love of justice. He does not deny that the accepted methods of the Socialist movement are quite consonant with good morals, but he assures us that if the Socialists had believed that their ends could be more easily gained by methods of lawlessness and violence, they would not hesitate to resort to such methods.

Without admitting this entirely unprovable hypothesis I will observe that in actual fact there can be no opposition or antagonism between social expediency and true social morality. In support of this contention I may quote an authority who enjoys the respect of my opponent as much as my own —I refer to Dr. John Augustine Ryan. In speaking of certain planks in the Socialist program, in the third instalment of this debate, Dr. Ryan remarks: "Their ethical character can be determined only through an examination of their bearing upon human welfare. This is the ultimate test of the morality of any social system. In the matter of social institutions, moral values and genuine expediency are in the long run identical."

To this view I heartily subscribe.

In closing I want to allay my opponent's concern about the condition of the Socialist party of this country and the Socialist movement in Europe. Neither of them has been "split in twain" or in any other way, as far as I know. From last accounts the organized Socialist movements of Europe and America were as strong as ever and steadily gaining in numbers, influence, and effectiveness.

In the March instalment Dr. Ryan and Mr. Hillquit discuss "Religion and Socialism." They approach the subject from an angle unfamiliar in Socialist literature, and this chapter of the debate is perhaps the most interesting so far.

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SOCIALISM:

PROMISE *or* MENACE?

A Debate between

MORRIS HILLQUIT

and

JOHN AUGUSTINE RYAN. D·D·

Editor's Note—Here is the final phase—and the one most personal and important to you—of the general subject, Socialism. Will the acceptance of Socialism compel you to reject your faith? Will it modify your beliefs? Or is Socialism entirely detached, something you can maintain despite, or in pursuance of, your religious convictions?

On these points Mr. Hillquit and Dr. Ryan are absolutely irreconcilable. The cleavage is sharp. And you are on either one side or the other. Here are all the considerations involved. Weigh them carefully.

The last instalment, next month, will present a review of the whole debate, by each contender, assembling the main arguments on each point.

VI

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

BY JOHN AUGUSTINE RYAN, D.D.

TO THE charge that their movement is irreligious, Socialists frequently reply that no support for this contention can be found in the party platforms. In a general way the reply is true; it is also for the most part irrelevant.

In 1891 the "Erfurt Program," probably the most authoritative of all the party declarations, demanded that religion "be declared a private concern." In the national convention of 1908 the Socialist Party of the United States proclaimed itself to be "primarily an economic and political movement . . . not concerned with matters of religious belief."

With regard to the first of these declarations we must bear carefully in mind that it is merely a "demand for the present," a statement of the attitude which the Socialists desire to see maintained by *existing* governments.

It is not placed among the *fundamental principles* of the platform, and consequently does not commit the party to the belief or conviction that such a policy of toleration should or would prevail in the Socialist State.

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Hence its importance is not paramount.

Moreover, both declarations need to be interpreted. The platforms are not a complete expression of the teaching and tendencies of the movement. All that they can attempt is to set forth briefly the most essential principles and the practical proposals.

In the words of Liebknecht, a platform "can not be a commentary. The agitators, the journalists, and the learned of the party must give the commentary" ("Socialism: What It Is, and What It Seeks to Accomplish," p. 35; Kerr & Co.).

One of the most enlightening and exhilarating illustrations of this rule will be found in the "Official Proceedings" (pp. 191-205) of the Chicago Convention of 1908. More than one of the "agitators, the journalists, and the learned of the party" furnished a very helpful commentary on the religious-neutrality plank.

To avow the true scientific Socialist position on the subject of religion would, they pointed out, be decidedly bad tactics in a presidential campaign.

The evidence that the Socialist movement (as distinguished from the contemplated Socialist State) is unfriendly, if not actively hostile, to religion, and that the Socialist philosophy is incompatible with religious convictions, is overwhelming.

Let us summarize this testimony gathered from prominent Socialists under a few of its most important heads.

SIGNIFICANT UTTERANCES OF SOCIALIST LEADERS

Karl Marx: "The religious world is but the reflex of the real world. And for a society based upon the production of commodities, . . . Christianity, with its cultus of the abstract man, more especially in its bourgeois developments, Protestantism, Deism, etc., is the most fitting form of religion" ("Capital," I., 32; Humboldt edition).

Frederick Engels, the co-founder of modern Socialism: "Now religion is but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of the external forces which dominate their everyday existence, a reflection in which earthly forces take the form of the supernatural" ("Landmarks of Scientific Socialism," pp. 256, 257; Chicago, 1907).

August Bebel, whose authority is second only to that of Marx and Engels: "Religion is the transcendental image of society at any given period. The religion of society changes in the same manner as society changes and as its development increases. The ruling classes seek to preserve it as a means of upholding their supremacy" ("Woman," p. 146; San Francisco, 1897).

Joseph Dietzgen, also associated with Marx, and perhaps the most philosophical writer of the movement: "Yet Socialism and Christianity differ from each other as the day does from the night. . . . Indeed, all religion is servile, but Christianity is the most servile of the servile" ("Philosophical Essays," p. 122; Chicago, 1906).

Paul Lafargue, son-in-law of Marx, and leading thinker of the Socialist movement in France: "The victory of the proletariat will deliver humanity from the nightmare of religion" (*International Socialist Review*, Nov. 1903, p. 293).

Emile Vandervelde, the ablest of the Belgian Socialists: "For the Roman Church religion is not merely a metaphysical doctrine, but a political and social doctrine whose dominant ideas are diametrically opposed to the Socialist ideas" (*Le Mouvement Socialiste*, No. 113, p. 201).

Enrico Ferri, perhaps the most learned and widely read of the Italian Socialists: "Socialism knows and foresees that religious beliefs . . . are destined to perish by atrophy with the extension of even elementary scientific culture" ("Socialism and Modern Science," p. 63; Chicago, 1909).

Robert Blatchford, who has been more widely read than any other English Socialist: "The greatest curse of humanity is ignorance. Religion, being based on fixed authority, is naturally opposed to knowledge" ("God and My Neighbor," p. 195; Chicago, 1904).

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM WILL NOT MIX

Belford Bax, also an Englishman, who has written on religion and ethics from the viewpoint of Marxian Socialism: "Lastly, one word on that singular hybrid, the Christian Socialist. . . . The association of Christianism with any form of Socialism is a mystery, rivaling the mysterious combination of ethical and other contradictions in the Christian divinity itself" ("Ethics of Socialism," p. 52).

George D. Herron, at one time a Congregationalist minister: "The church of to-day

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sounds the lowest note in human life. It is the most degrading of all our institutions, and the most brutalizing in its effects on the common life. For Socialism to use it, to make terms with it, or let it make approaches to the Socialist movement, is for Socialism to take Judas to its bosom" (*The Worker*, March 30, 1902).

The evidence that the Socialist movement is unfriendly, if not actively hostile, to religion, and that the Socialist philosophy is incompatible with religious convictions, is overwhelming.

John Spargo, likewise a former Protestant clergyman, the author of more Socialist productions than any other man in the United States: "The ethics of Christianity, like its practises, are characterized by a monstrous disregard of the common life. Christianity and tyranny have for ages been firmly allied. The ethical teaching of Jesus even was not Socialism; even His pure spirit had no clear concept of that great common-life standard which the race was destined to reach through centuries of struggle and pain" (Editorial in *The Comrade*, May, 1903).

William English Walling, a very able American Socialist author: "We may slightly paraphrase Bebel's statement above given, and say that the majority of Socialists are firmly convinced that Socialism and modern science must finally lead to a state of society where there will be no room whatever for religion in any form" ("The Larger Aspects of Socialism," p. 381; N. Y., 1913). Moreover, Mr. Walling declares in the same paragraph that the overwhelming majority of Socialists believe that religion will disappear without any violent attack, and are working to "hasten that day."

THE STANDARD BOOKS OF SOCIALISM

Now, the leaders just cited, and others who take the same attitude toward religion, are the makers of Socialist literature. They have written books which are everywhere recognized as authoritative, which are read by the more intelligent Socialists, and which through newspapers, magazines, and speeches filter down to the rank and file.

Consult, for example, the list of works advertised by the chief Socialist publishing house in America, C. H. Kerr & Co., in the pamphlet, "What to Read on Socialism" (Chicago, 1911); and the books recommended in Socialist meetings, and by Socialist writers, lecturers, and lecture bureaus.

The prominence of anti-religious statements and theories in Socialist books naturally varies according to the class of readers for which they are primarily intended. In popular works like those of John Spargo, the shock to the religious believer is reduced to a minimum. In the more scientific and fundamental treatises, such as those of Marx, Engels, Bebel, and Lafargue, the irreligious implications of Socialist doctrine are presented in all their repulsiveness. Speaking summarily, we are justified in saying that practically all standard Socialist books contain, explicitly or implicitly, some quantity of irreligious materialism; that the most authoritative and systematic of them (mostly from the German) are saturated with it; and that the average religious believer who reads sympathetically many of these books, is in imminent danger of either losing his faith or perverting it into something quite "undogmatic" and meaningless.

SOCIALIST PERIODICALS AND SPEECHES

"Unless it retires to one of the poles of the earth, ecclesiastical hierarchy, like all other despotism, will soon be crowded off the earth" (*The International Socialist Review*, August, 1912, p. 118).

"For us, we fear the enmity of the Church less than its friendship, and this we should say equally of any other church, or any other organization accepting the capitalist ideal" (*The Worker*, May 1, 1902).

"The very word Socialism embodies an ethical concept infinitely higher than anything that organized religion has ever known. Nothing could well be more dangerous than the no doubt well-meant attempts to prove Socialism true by an appeal to religion" (*The Comrade*, April, 1902).

"To be sure, scientific Socialism has certain

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aspects with which the Church must of necessity disagree" (*The Call*, Jan. 5, 1910).

"It is characteristic of the Roman Church that it keeps the masses in ignorance and bigotry, and thus in submission to the ruling class" (*The Social Democratic Herald*, August 12, 1912).

Practically all Socialist magazines and newspapers publish something of this sort occasionally. The more popular periodicals contain less of it than those which are designed for the educated and for persons confirmed in the Socialist faith. Witness the difference in this respect between the *Appeal to Reason* and the *International Socialist Review*. Moreover, the newspapers present anti-religious doctrine in a more indirect and diluted form than the books. Nevertheless, the spirit of all of them is quite other than the spirit of religion.

The oratorical expressions of the Socialist movement seem to be irreligious in about the same degree as the newspapers. During political campaigns the party speakers refrain, as a rule, from utterances which are specifically offensive to religious persons. At other times statements of this character are fairly frequent, both from the "soapbox" and from the lecture platform.

THE IRRELIGION OF THE AVERAGE SOCIALIST

The great majority of Socialists seem to be either unfriendly to religion, or at least to have severed their connection with the church and the synagogue. While this statement is from the nature of the case incapable of mathematical demonstration, it is so well established by universal observation that no Socialist seriously attempts to call it in question. So far as Catholics are concerned, I am certain that only an insignificant fraction of those who become identified with the Socialist movement remain loyal sons of the Church. Except in an infinitesimal number of cases, they can not truthfully assert that they have been "driven out of the Church by the priest." They have been driven out, or drawn out, by the irreligious teaching and influences pervading the movement. In America, as in Europe, the normal result of Catholic affiliation with Socialism is that noted by the editor of *Justice* (London, Sept. 30, 1909): "Roman Catholics, I gladly recognize, have become very good Socialists, but only on condition of becoming very bad Catholics."

It is occasionally asserted by Socialists that the irreligious utterances of the movement should not be charged against the Socialist organization, any more than similar expressions from prominent Democrats and Republicans should be set down to the discredit of their respective political parties.

But the cases are not parallel. In the first place, there is a very great difference of proportion. Only a small minority of the distinguished members of the old parties are avowed atheists or agnostics, while practically all the leaders of Socialism must be so classified. James Leatham, a well-known English Socialist, writes:

"At the present moment I can not remember a single instance of a person who is at one and the same time a really earnest and intelligent Socialist and an orthodox Christian. . . . Marx, Lassalle, and Engels among the earlier Socialists; Morris, Bax, Hyndman, Guesde, and Bebel among present-day Socialists—are all more or less avowed atheists; and what is true of the more notable men of the party is almost equally true of the rank and file the world over" ("Socialism and Character," pp. 2, 3; London, 1897).

This statement is substantially applicable to the United States.

In the second place, the Socialist leaders deliberately connect their irreligion with their Socialism, and propagate it in books and periodicals which are primarily intended for the discussion of Socialism. Their agnosticism and their Socialism go hand in hand.

IRRELIGION IN THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

We are sometimes told that Socialism in the United States shows very little of that antagonism to religion which prevails on the Continent. This is a mistake. Both the leaders and the literature of the American movement are in harmony with the International Socialist position on this subject. Whatever minor differences exist are of method, not of substance or spirit. The opposition of American members of the party to religion is apparently less outspoken, less crude, and less direct than that of their European comrades; but it is not less positive, insidious, and menacing. A striking and conclusive proof of this view is found in the latest book of Professor Rauschenbusch.

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Speaking of American conditions, he declares that men who draw their "democracy and moral order from Jesus" have difficulty in cooperating with party Socialism. In Socialist meetings they "find an almost universal attitude of suspicion and dislike against the Church, which often rises to downright hate and bitterness, and expands to general antagonism against religion itself. The materialistic philosophy of history, as the average Socialist expounds it, emphasizes the economic and material factors of life so exclusively that the spiritual elements of humanity seem as unimportant as the coloring of a flower or the bloom on the grape. In large parts of the party literature the social and economic teachings of Socialism are woven through with a web of materialistic philosophy, which is part of 'Scientific Socialism.' The party platform declares religion to be a private matter, but that declaration of neutrality does not exclude persistent attacks on religion by official exponents of the party" ("Christianizing the Social Order," pp. 397, 398; N. Y., 1912).

In the view of the Marxian Socialist, Christianity will go out of existence with the downfall of Capitalism and private property.

Such is the experience and observation of a man who desires *economic* Socialism, and the reconciliation of the Socialist movement with religion, and whose conception of the Christian Church would enable him to make very liberal concessions of religious tenets in order that these ends might be attained. If *his* religious sentiments are shocked by the spirit of the Socialist movement in the United States, it is certain that no orthodox Christian, surely no genuine Catholic, could feel at home there.

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM MAINLY TO BLAME

The explanation offered by John Spargo of this constant association of Socialism with irreligion is not at all adequate ("The Spiritual Significance of Modern Socialism," pp. 95, 96). While the founders of Modern Socialism did attempt to erect it upon the teachings of science, which in their time was supposed to be atheistic, this fact does not fully account for the irreligious attitude of the Socialist leaders of to-day, when genuine science no longer puts itself in opposition to religion.

Not science but economic determinism must shoulder the greater part of the responsibility. Thousands and thousands of men who have been drawn into the Socialist movement by its economic proposals sooner or later have found that their religious faith was incompatible with a theory which reduces all social forces and changes *ultimately* to economic and material causes, leaving no place in the universe for the *original* and *independent* action of spiritual forces, or for the existence of that distinct entity called a spiritual soul. The Socialist newspaper, the New York *Call*, stated the situation exactly when it said: "The theory of economic determinism alone, if thoroughly grasped, leaves no room for a belief in the supernatural" (March 2, 1911).

The materialistic view of the universe and of life which is implicit in this theory has not remained merely implicit. It has been made quite explicit by the leaders and scholars of the Socialist movement. They have applied it specifically to the phenomenon of religion. They have expressly declared that religion is a product of economic conditions, that it changes with the changes in these conditions, and that the present forms of religion will disappear with the disappearance of the existing economic system. Kautsky, Labriola, and Engels have given considerable attention to this phase of economic determinism.

According to Kautsky, Christianity arose as a movement for social reform among the slaves and the proletariat, but in response to changes in economic and political conditions became a bulwark of the capitalist class (*"Der Ursprung des Christentums,"* pp. 481, sq.; Stuttgart, 1910). Engels tries to show that medieval Catholicism was but the religious reflex of feudalism; that Lutheranism arose when feudalism fell; that Calvinism was the outgrowth of republican ideas in Switzerland, Holland, and Scotland; and that freethinking responded to the economico-political conditions in France on the eve of the Revolution (Feuerbach: "The Roots of Socialist Philosophy," pp. 121-124).

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Finally, Christianity will go out of existence with the downfall of Capitalism and private property. "If our juridical, philosophical, and religious ideas are the more or less remote offshoots of the economical relations prevailing in a given society, such ideas can not, in the long run, withstand the effects of a complete change in these relations" ("Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," Introduction, p. xxxvii).

How could a movement whose literature is permeated by such explanations of, and such an attitude toward, religion be otherwise than irreligious?

AN INVITATION AND A CHALLENGE

If there be any intelligent student of Socialism who honestly thinks that it is merely an economic theory, or who hopes that the Socialist State is likely to be instituted and maintained in conformity with the traditional principles of religion and morals, he will be constrained to accept the following suggestions as entirely reasonable from the viewpoint of the Christian and the Theist:

Let Socialists eliminate from their postulates, principles, and propaganda every element which is contrary to the traditional teaching on morals and religion. This will mean repudiation of the theory of economic determinism in so far as the theory implies materialism in philosophy, relativity in ethics, and in religion agnosticism.

It will mean that they will no longer defend confiscation and "love-unions," nor make the working class and the Socialist State the supreme standard of morality, nor teach that the principles of morality are essentially variable.

It will mean the rejection of their antagonism toward religion, and of their attempts to explain the origin and development of religion on social and economic grounds.

It will mean that capitalists whose property is to be taken by the Socialist State are to receive full compensation, and that no industry which is not a natural monopoly is to be operated by the State until experience has proved that the latter is more efficient than private enterprise.

How can Socialists accomplish this task of elimination, expurgation, and purification? By a method that is elementary in its simplicity. Let the Socialist party in national convention formally repudiate all the printed works which contain teaching contrary to the doctrines and proposals advocated in the last paragraph; or, let it appoint a committee charged with the duty of relentlessly expurgating from the approved books and pamphlets everything but the *economic* arguments and proposals of Socialism. Let the convention solemnly condemn beforehand all periodicals, writers, and speakers who refuse to conform to the new policy; and let it commit the party to a program of "socialization" by a gradual process, through the method of competition in all competitive industries, and with full compensation to all capitalists whose property is taken over by the Socialist State.

Only through formal action of this kind can the Socialist movement purge itself of responsibility for anti-religious and immoral teaching, or become a purely economic organization and agency. When this has been done, and the new policy in good faith enforced, religious opposition to Socialism will probably cease. Until it has been done, no such result can be expected by any intelligent man who is honest in his thinking.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

BY MORRIS HILLQUIT

DR. RYAN in substance charges the Socialist movement with irreconcilable hostility to all forms of religion and maintains that a Socialist order of society would be incompatible with the observance of true religious practises.

To what extent, if any, can the charge be sustained?

At the outset it can not be too strongly emphasized that the organized Socialist movement as such is not hostile to religion. Nor is it friendly to it. It is entirely neutral in all matters of religious belief.

"Religion is a private matter," proclaims the "Erfurt Program," adopted by the German Social Democracy in 1891, and the Socialist Party of the United States as late as 1908 made the still more specific declaration: "The Socialist Party represents primarily an economic and political movement.

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It is not concerned with matters of religious belief."

That these party declarations mean precisely what they say appears abundantly from the testimony of the most authoritative spokesmen of the Socialist movement.

SOCIALIST TOLERANCE TOWARD RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Dr. Anton Pannekoek, an influential and accepted modern writer on Socialism, states the proposition most tersely and cogently when he observes:

"We Socialists consider religion as a private concern of each individual, and we demand that the state shall take the same position. This demand proves clearly that the assertion of the clergy that we wish to abolish religion is simply a deception and slander. The platform plank—Religion is a private matter—clearly expresses that fundamental character of our movement by which it may be distinguished from all earlier revolutionary mass movements. We do not inquire into personal views; we do not demand any profession of faith; we insist only on cooperation in our practical aims. *Our aim is a definite, material transformation of society, a different regulation of labor, the substitution of the Socialist mode of production for the capitalist system. Nothing else.* Anybody who wants to cooperate with us for the attainment of this aim is welcome as a comrade-in-arms, regardless of his philosophic, religious, or other personal views. Our aims bear no relation to religion—they move in entirely different spheres" (*"Die Abschaffung des Eigentums, des Staates und der Religion"*).

Wilhelm Liebknecht elucidates the party declaration of neutrality in the following instructive language:

"Socialism as such has absolutely nothing to do with religion. Every man has the right to think and believe what he will, and no man has the right to molest another in his thoughts or beliefs or to place him at a disadvantage on their account. * * * Opinions and beliefs must be free. We, as Socialists, must respect them, and those Socialists who respect the sincerity of the beliefs of their fellow men will also avoid scoffing at them."

The absolute tolerance of the Socialist movement toward all religious beliefs makes it possible for many of its adherents to combine deep religious convictions and even devout Church practises with whole-hearted participation in the practical struggles of Socialism. "One may well be a good Christian, and still feel the warmest sympathy for the class-struggle of the proletariat," attests Karl Kautsky, the foremost living exponent of Marxian Socialism. And he adds: "The organization of the militant working class, the Socialist party, has not the slightest ground to reject such elements, if they are able and willing to fight the class-struggle in our way" (*"Die Sozialdemokratie und die Katholische Kirche"*).

But these explicit statements do not satisfy Dr. Ryan. Following the example of most clerical opponents of Socialism, he goes "behind the record," and seeks to palliate the force of the unambiguous Socialist declarations by ingenious interpretations and arguments. He contends that the accepted Socialist philosophy, and particularly the Marxian doctrine of economic determinism, are inherently incompatible with religious beliefs, and that a large majority of Socialists are agnostics or atheists.

THE INDIRECT BEARING OF SOCIALISM ON RELIGION

These conclusions are based on aprioristic reasoning, unverifiable general observations, alleged but unrecorded speeches, and fragmentary utterances of Socialist writers. They are rendered plausible by a somewhat indiscriminate use of terms.

Throughout the discussion my opponent employs the expressions *Religion*, *Christianity*, and *Church* interchangeably and without any attempt to define or differentiate them. But such a differentiation is very essential for a fair and just statement of the Socialist attitude.

Probably no other word in our language is so vague and elastic as *Religion*. In the attempted definitions of the term the most authoritative dictionaries and standard theological works present an almost hopeless confusion of ideas, through which, however, two main conceptions may be roughly distinguished. The first, which we shall designate as the *idealistic* or *philosophic* conception, defines religion as any belief in a universal and superhuman force; any acceptance of a great ethical principle, and even any faith in a high social ideal.

The second or *dogmatic* school of theology is much more concrete in its conceptions and defines religion as the belief in and

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ritualistic worship of a personal God, as the conscious and intelligent creator of the universe and the deliberate guide and judge of our individual actions and destinies.

The term *Christianity* is somewhat less vague than *Religion*, but like the latter it also stands for two widely different meanings. As a general belief in the moral doctrines and practises of Jesus, Christianity is a branch of what we have designated as idealistic religion; but as a literal belief in the rigid body of Church doctrines attaching to the term it is but a particular form of "dogmatic" religion, one of its many other similar forms, past and present.

The term *Church* is not synonymous with either *Religion* or *Christianity*. It is a concrete and material institution with an organization, history, and policy of its own, and must be judged by different standards than either religion or Christianity.

SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY IS NOT ANTI-RELIGIOUS

There is obviously no antagonism or inconsistency between the Socialist philosophy and the various ethical and philosophic systems which we have designated as idealistic religions. In fact, Socialism has itself often been called a religion in that sense. But even the rigid Catholic conception of religion does not always seem to be incompatible with the doctrine of Marxian Socialism, including the much-maligned theory of economic determinism.

One of the best works in English in defense of the economic interpretation of history comes from the pen of a prominent and orthodox Catholic priest. This scholarly book is entitled "History of Economics, or Economics as a Factor in the Making of History," and its author is the Reverend J. A. Dewe, late Professor of the Catholic College of St. Thomas in St. Paul. It is published by Benziger Brothers, "printers to the Holy Apostolic See," and its fly-leaf bears the indispensable "*Nihil Obstat*" of the Catholic book censor as well as the official *Imprimatur* of Archbishop, now Cardinal, John M. Farley.

The summary of the author's economic and historical views, contained in his introduction, reads like a page from Frederick Engels. "It is evident," says the Reverend Dewe, "that economics must have an almost unbounded influence on human conduct, both public and private. For the great majority spend the greater part of their time either in producing or distributing wealth, and, from the point of view of extension, the time that an ordinary man has to employ in earning his daily bread is greater than that which he can possibly expend in explicit acts of religion. This all-pervading activity of economics is still more apparent in the state or commonwealth. In the whole course of ancient and modern history there is scarcely any single important political event that has not been caused, either directly or indirectly, by some economic influence. *Religion* and physical causes *may also have been present, but the economic factor seems to have been the most constant and the most pervasive.*" (The italics are mine.)

Evidently Professor J. A. Dewe disagrees with the assertion of his colleague John A. Ryan that the theory of economic determinism contradicts the belief of every Christian, and, what is particularly interesting to note, Professor Dewe's views seem to have the official sanction of the Catholic Church.

Still I am inclined to believe that the majority of Socialists find it difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile their general philosophic views with the doctrines and practises of dogmatic religious creeds. In that sense my opponent is perhaps justified in asserting that the Socialist party contains a larger proportion of "agnostics" than either the Republican or the Democratic party.

Many adherents of Socialism combine deep religious convictions and even devout Church practises with whole-hearted participation in the practical struggles of Socialism.

But Dr. Ryan is entirely in the wrong when he points to the Marxian philosophy, and particularly to the theory of economic determinism, as the specific source of the non-orthodox religious views of the average Socialist. Orthodox and dogmatic religious beliefs and formalistic religious practises are as inconsistent with any other scientific system of social or philosophic thought as they are with Marxism, and the "irreligion" of the Socialists is neither greater nor

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less than the "irreligion" of the average enlightened person who has been trained in the methods of contemporaneous thought and who accepts the conclusions of modern science. The only reason why the type of the "agnostic" occurs more frequently in the Socialist movement than in the ranks of the old political parties is that the average Socialist is better instructed and more independent in his thinking than the average Republican or Democratic voter.

The "irreligion" of the Socialists is neither greater nor less than the "irreligion" of the average enlightened person who accepts the conclusions of modern science.

Dr. Ryan assures us that to-day "genuine science no longer puts itself in opposition to religion;" but unfortunately he fails to specify the sciences which he considers "genuine," or to define the term "religion" in this bold sentence. If he has in mind the more modern and rather vague idealistic conceptions of religion, then I repeat that Socialism also does not "put itself in opposition" to it; but if he refers to the more orthodox and cruder forms of religious belief, I know of no pact of reconciliation between them and modern sciences.

"Genuine" modern science shows no inclination to compromise with traditional dogmatic theology, and the conflict between the two world-views is sharpest where the latter exerts its strongest sway. Thus Italy, Spain, and France, the strongholds of Catholicism, are also the seats of the most aggressive and militant atheism. The Socialist movement in those countries likewise presents a much larger proportion of agnostics than it does in the United States and in other countries of modernized liberal creeds. In this it merely reflects the general state of the enlightened public mind in precisely the same way as any other advanced section of the population—no more and no less.

SOCIALISM AND THE CHURCH

The attitude of the average individual Socialist toward Religion and Christianity may thus be said to be identical with the attitude of the average non-Socialist of similar state of general enlightenment. What are his relations to the Church as an organization distinct from the general institutions of Religion or Christianity?

As a rule, these relations must be admitted to be rather strained, and I believe Dr. Ryan's observation that the majority of Socialists "seem to have severed their connection with the Church" contains a large element of truth. Not alone the Socialist movement but organized labor all over the world seems to develop an ever-growing sentiment of distrust and suspicion toward the Church. And the responsibility for that attitude rests entirely with the Church, and particularly with its social and economic attitude and activities.

For the Church has undergone very radical changes within the nineteen centuries since its original foundation. Born as a revolt of the lowly and disinherited against the oppression of the rich and powerful of the world, for several centuries it remained the true and class-conscious organization of the proletariat for their mutual economic protection and social salvation. The primitive Christian community at Jerusalem was, in the testimony of St. Luke, a purely communistic institution, in which all members "who were possessed of land or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made to every man according as he had need"!

Throughout the first centuries of our era the fathers of the Church, following the example of their Master, condemned the wealthy as "robbers of the poor" and championed the right of all human beings to the earth and the fruits thereof. It was owing to this proletarian and revolutionary character of the primitive Christian Church that it grew and expanded into a world-power, and when it had attained that power, it fell. The Christian Church never had a concrete social and economic program. Its teachings were purely abstract, purely ethical. Its sole social significance lay in its negative expression of revolt; and when the shrewd ruling classes of the Roman Empire, under Constantine, turned persecution into favor, and elevated Christianity to the dignity of a

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state and court religion, they drew the fangs from the dangerous movement. The meaningless form was preserved, but the living substance was destroyed.

Official Christianity was reduced to a set of formalistic practises and deprived of its great social significance. And the Church as the material representative of dominant Christianity became itself a dominant and oppressing social and economic organization. In the Middle Ages the social position of the clergy is quite akin to that of the nobility. It is an exploiting class. It owns lands and costly edifices and untold treasures. It employs laborers and armies and taxes the people. It vies with kings and princes for temporal power and often outdoes them in worldly splendor. Of the spirit and traditions of its early teaching and practises remains nothing but the dry skeleton of formal almsgiving.

When the ruling classes of the Roman Empire elevated Christianity to the dignity of a state and court religion, they drew the fangs from the dangerous movement.

In modern times the Church has been shorn of much of its temporal power, but it has remained the steadfast ally and the loyal apologist of the classes in power, and the determined foe of the common people. Every form of political tyranny and social and economic oppression has invariably had its spiritual support and pastoral blessing. Every effort of the downtrodden to lift their heads has infallibly met with its stern rebuke. Serfdom and slavery were sanctioned by the Church as God-ordained institutions. The brutal and rapacious feudal lord was acclaimed by it as the "soldier of Christ," and the autocratic tyrant as the "anointed of God." The struggles of the nations for political liberty in the eighteenth century and the American anti-slavery movement in the earlier half of the nineteenth century were combated by the Church as wicked, and so, on the whole, are the modern struggles of the workers for economic justice.

The Church can be relied on to take the employer's side in every important labor struggle. It counsels "Christian" resignation and preaches to the exploited workers the paralyzing and immoral gospel of servile submission. It hates and execrates all revolts against the ruling classes, and that is the true reason for its embittered war against Socialism, the most radical and potent expression of the modern working-class revolt.

It is not true that the strenuous anti-Socialist agitation of the Catholic Church was inspired by the alleged "immorality" or "irreligion" of the movement. The Catholic Church remains indifferent and inactive in the face of the most shocking spread of prostitution, white slavery, and all forms of moral degeneracy, as well as to the rankest manifestations of atheism, so long as they do not endanger the material power of the dominant classes. The Catholic Church cares little for morality *per se*. Its active and aggressive attacks are always directed against liberating movements, and the charges of immorality and irreligion are its invariable weapons of warfare in such cases.

Of course, this rule, as all rules, does not operate without exceptions. All modern movements for human uplift have had the active and enthusiastic support of some, often many, high-minded ministers of the Church. But they have been the exception; and, particularly in the case of Catholic priests, the exceptional and anomalous position of clerical champions of popular liberty has often been accentuated by severe discipline from the Mother Church.

And still I should advise my good Catholic comrades in the Socialist and labor movement not to take the attacks of their Church too much to heart. For just as the Church has ever opposed every progressive and revolutionary movement, just so has it uniformly reconciled itself with those movements in the hours of their triumph and victory. The Catholic Church seems quite loyal in its support of republicanism, personal liberty, and even religious freedom in all countries where these privileges have been won, although it had bitterly opposed all these institutions before their establishment, and still opposes them in countries of monarchical form of government and backward social organizations. It is therefore quite within the realm of the possible that when the Socialist movement shall have attained its object, and the Socialist commonwealth shall be an

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accomplished fact, the Catholic Church will confer on it its belated blessings, and proclaim it the only God-ordained social order.

I have thus met the attacks and answered the arguments of my opponent as fully and frankly as I could. But there still remains one phase of the subject, upon which Dr. Ryan has scarcely touched and which to my mind is vastly more important for a proper evaluation of the Socialist attitude toward religion than all the points heretofore discussed. I mean the religious toleration of the organized Socialist movement and the probable effect of the Socialist order on religious liberty. For, after all, the private religious beliefs of individual Socialists are of no greater importance or significance than those of any other persons. The agnostic, the man of philosophic religious beliefs, and the orthodox Catholic face each other with different and conflicting views. Who is right and who is wrong?

My beliefs differ from those of Dr. Ryan. I think I am right. Dr. Ryan is convinced that he is right. The absolute or relative truth of our positions can only be established by a free interchange of arguments and by our respective ability to persuade the greatest number of persons. Hence the important question is not, whether and what the individual Socialists believe, but whether the Socialist movement manifests an inclination to interfere with religious organizations and propaganda, and whether the "Socialist State" is likely to suppress or curtail the freedom of religious beliefs, teachings, and practises.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AND RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

The organized Socialist movement has at all times actively and consistently defended the absolute freedom of religious beliefs and practises not only within its own ranks as a matter of tactics, but within the community at large as a matter of principle. The first definite test presented itself to the young Social-Democracy of Germany, when the government of the newly founded empire under the reactionary leadership of Prince Bismarck undertook to suppress the Catholic Church. Three bills were submitted to the Reichstag. One to limit the freedom of expression from the pulpit (1871); another, to expel the Jesuit order from the country (1872); and the third, to remove the education of priests from the Church (1873). The Socialist deputies in the Reichstag and the Socialist press and speakers outside of it, fought consistently and energetically against each and all of the measures.

The Catholic Church is still one of the "religious communities" officially recognized by the German Government, but that does not always protect it from molestation and persecution on the part of several constituent states of the empire. In order to put an end to such molestations and at the same time to preserve all privileges arising from the official state recognition, the Catholic Church through its representatives in the Reichstag (the "party of the Center") introduced the so-called "Toleration Bill" in 1900. The bill provided for "freedom of religious beliefs" in general terms, but demanded very specifically the entire independence of the religious communities *recognized by the state*. To this the Socialists opposed an amendment calling for the absolute freedom of convictions, beliefs, and religious practises for all persons. In the final vote the Catholics cast their strength against the Socialist proposal, while the Socialists unanimously voted in favor of the Catholic measure.

A still more recent test of the Socialist sincerity in the matter of religious tolerance presented itself toward the close of 1912, when the German Government renewed its attack on the Jesuit order in the shape of a rigid and hostile interpretation of the anti-Jesuit laws of 1872, known as the "May laws." The attitude of the Socialists on that occasion is best told by some of the American Catholic publications.

The Church can be relied on to take the employer's side in every important labor struggle. It hates and execrates all revolts against the ruling classes.

The *Catholic Telegraph* of December 12, 1912, reports: "In the situation which has arisen from the break between the Government and the Catholic Center over the decision of the

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Bundesrath in a case affecting the anti-Jesuit law, for which Dr. Spahn, the Catholic leader, denounced the Imperial Chancellor in the Reichstag, the ministry has resorted to the unprecedented step of inviting the Social Democrats to make common cause against the Catholic Center, which was formerly part of the Government *bloc*.

"The Center, with the aid of the allied (*sic*) Socialists, have 200 votes [the Socialists 110, the Center only about 90.—M. H.] or a full majority of the Reichstag, and can obstruct the voting of the supply bill and clog all other wheels of legislation. * * *

"The Government's appeal to the Socialists will apparently fall on deaf ears."

"'It would be a mésalliance and is not to be dreamed of,' says Edward Bernstein, the Socialist writer and one of the leaders in the Reichstag. 'All our traditions exclude such a combination.'"

The *Catholic Tribune* of the same date informs its readers that "a Socialist speaker assured the Center of his party's support."

From all of which it follows not only that the Socialists are absolutely consistent and sincere in their profession of religious tolerance, but also that the Catholic Church may occasionally find them highly reliable and desirable political "allies."

RELIGION UNDER SOCIALISM

The modern Socialist movement has thus demonstrated its broad-minded religious tolerance by word and deed. Is there any good reason to apprehend that an established Socialist State would be less tolerant or that its existence would be incompatible with the continuance of religious practises?

Socialism, on the one hand, demands the complete separation of State and Church, and, on the other, it stands for absolute religious liberty. These two fundamental principles determine the attitude which the Socialist State must take on religion and worship. It is safe to predict that a Socialist administration will confer no special rights, privileges, or exemptions on the Church, nor will it give it official sanction or recognition. On the other hand, it will not interfere in the slightest degree with its existence, teachings, and practises.

Socialism, on the one hand, demands the complete separation of State and Church, and, on the other, it stands for absolute religious liberty.

The Church will thus be a free and voluntary association of persons entertaining similar religious beliefs, and will be supported and maintained by the private contributions of such persons. The extent of its strength and influence will depend entirely on the measure in which it satisfies the spiritual requirements of the population. Will the Church stand that test? Will Christianity survive under those conditions?

Dr. Ryan asserts that in the conception of the Marxian Socialist "Christianity will go out of existence with the downfall of capitalism and private property." This prediction may be quite plausible from the point of view of those who consider Christianity as a mere "bulwark of the capitalist class." But surely the forecast can not be accepted by true believers, who hold that Christianity is an independent and absolute force capable of surviving all political and economic changes. There is, therefore, no reason why a good Catholic should have any misgivings about the fate of Christianity under a Socialist régime—unless his faith is not as strong as it might be.

A COUNTER SUGGESTION

Dr. Ryan concludes his able article with what he terms an "entirely reasonable" proposition to the Socialist movement. The proposition is indeed quite "elementary in its simplicity." All my opponent requests is that the Socialists forswear all views contrary to the "traditional" teachings of morals and religion; that they abandon the doctrines of Marxian philosophy, and a substantial part of their practical program. In return for these slight concessions he holds out the promise, or rather prospect, that "religious opposition to Socialism will *probably* cease."

I regret my inability to accept the friendly invitation on behalf of the Socialist movement. Socialism has succeeded exceedingly well with its present philosophy and methods.

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Since the days when the movement ceased to represent a mere pious and philanthropic sentiment and now that it has become a militant organization of the working class based on the radical social and economic philosophy of Karl Marx, it has grown from a handful of ineffective dreamers into a potent international army of many millions, a modern social factor more powerful than the powerful Catholic Church. It has grown in spite of political persecution and "religious opposition," perhaps even to a certain extent on account of them. It is therefore quite unlikely that the Socialist movement will at this time change its philosophy and tactics to suit my amiable opponent.

But if suggestions are in order, I may in my turn offer one to Dr. Ryan, which is likewise "elemental in its simplicity":

Let the Catholic Church dissolve its un-Christian partnership with the rich and powerful of this world; let it abandon its persistent opposition to all organized efforts of the poor for social and economic betterment; let it cease to interfere with political and class-struggles, to which it is not a party and on which it is not competent to speak; let it cast aside its pomp and splendor, its mundane ambitions and greed for power; let it return to the spirit and practises of the lowly Nazarene; in a word, let it limit itself to its legitimate functions within the spiritual sphere of life, and I can assure Dr. Ryan in positive terms that when this has been done, all antagonism between the Socialist movement and the Church will cease forever.

REBUTTAL BY DR. RYAN

IN HIS reply to my main article, Mr. Hillquit complains that I "go behind the record" of the Socialist platforms in order to get the attitude of the movement toward religion. Yet he does that very thing himself. Of the three writers whom he cites in his vain effort to show that "the party declarations mean precisely what they say," one, Kautsky, is a rather unfortunate selection. My opponent has omitted an important qualifying sentence which intervened between the two that he quotes from Kautsky; stranger still, he has neglected to inform us that in the second edition of the pamphlet from which the quotation is taken, the great German Socialist corrected his statement thus:

"As many letters addressed to me have shown that this sentence has been misunderstood, I do not think it out of place to remark that I do not view as possible the union of Christianity with Social Democracy as a political party in the sense that it is possible to arrive at a full understanding of Socialism from the standpoint of Christianity. . . . The acceptance of a personal God (and an impersonal God is a meaningless word) and of personal immortality is incompatible with the present stage of scientific knowledge in general, of which scientific Socialism is a part which can not be severed from the whole." (See "The Larger Aspects of Socialism," by W. E. Walling, p. 389.)

The other two authors, Pannekoek and Liebknecht, do assert that religion is not among the concerns of Socialism. But how can we know whether they are not moved by purely "tactical" considerations, quite as Arthur Morrow Lewis and other delegates to the Chicago convention of 1908 finally voted for the religious-neutrality plank, although they had in the course of the debate denounced it as a lie?

At any rate, Mr. Hillquit's "abundant testimony" comes from only two persons, while the contrary expressions that I have cited represent more than a dozen authorities. Mr. Hillquit, indeed, calls these expressions "fragmentary utterances," but he probably will not deny that they reflect adequately the mind of their authors. Any reader who may be disposed to question their value should consult the contexts from which they have been taken.

ORTHODOX RELIGION *vs.* ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

My opponent introduces an elaborate but wholly unnecessary discussion of the different meanings of religion and its cognate terms, Christianity and Church. I never denied that the Socialist philosophy is compatible with what he calls "idealistic religion," which may mean merely "an ethical principle," "a philosophical system," or even "Socialism itself"! Throughout the discussion I have, quite obviously, employed the

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term religion in its ordinary and easily understood sense: belief in and submission to a personal God, the Creator and Moral Ruler of the Universe. To religion in this proper acceptation, and not in the sense of some colorless ideal, I have maintained, and still maintain, that the Socialist movement is antagonistic.

TRUE ECONOMIC DETERMINISM INCOMPATIBLE WITH CHRISTIAN BELIEFS.

The two paragraphs which my opponent quotes from a book by the Reverend J. A. Dewe, to prove that this excellent and able priest does not find the theory of economic determinism incompatible with his Christian beliefs, are not at all to the point. Father Dewe merely says that economic factors exercise "almost unbounded influence on human conduct," and have been "the most constant and most pervasive causes" of events in the particular field of politics. Neither of these statements is equivalent to the assertion that economic factors *ultimately* determine all social conditions, institutions, and beliefs, or that such non-economic factors as religion, ethics, law, etc., are merely derived and instrumental causes of social events and changes. This is economic determinism as described by my opponent in his paper on Socialist Philosophy. This, and nothing less than this, is economic determinism as understood by orthodox Socialists.

Father Dewe does not deny the original and independent activity and causality of religious and ethical factors, nor the existence of the distinct spiritual entity called the soul. Therefore, he is not correctly classed as a believer in the Socialist theory of economic determinism. Indeed, if allowance be made for his somewhat unprecise and hyperbolic language, his view of economic causality does not differ substantially from mine, as stated more than once in the last two articles. Yet my opponent has not honored me with a place among the adherents of economic determinism.

After all, it seems that Mr. Hillquit has been merely exercising his dialectic skill and indulging his sense of humor; for he immediately faces about, and admits substantially that my position is correct. Here are his own words: "Still I am inclined to believe that the majority of Socialists find it difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile their general philosophic views with the doctrines and practises of dogmatic religious creeds." In the interest of strict accuracy, I should like to amend this sentence by introducing the word "vast" before the word "majority."

"SCIENCE" AS A CAUSE OF SOCIALIST IRRELIGION

According to my opponent, the irreligion of the Socialist is not greater than that of the person who "accepts the conclusions of modern science;" consequently it is not due specifically to the Marxian philosophy.

I repeat that genuine science is not in opposition to religion, to orthodox, dogmatic religion. By science I mean the group of natural, empirical disciplines, such as chemistry, biology, physics, physiology, experimental psychology, astronomy, geology. When we inquire whether science, thus understood, is consistent with religion, we may have in mind either the principles and conclusions of science, or the religious attitude of the scientists.

Inasmuch as science deals only with those facts that come under the observation of the senses, and with the uniformities or laws which are disclosed by such observation, it can not as such know anything of or assume any attitude toward ultimate causes or supra-sensible realities. The latter lie entirely beyond the field of science, and constitute the province of philosophy and theology. From the very nature of the situation it is evident that there can be no conflict between religion and science objectively considered.

The great majority of the ablest and most authoritative men of science have found no inconsistency between their scientific opinions and the principles of orthodox religion.

Nevertheless some scientists have gone beyond their proper field, and have attempted to interpret as philosophers the ultimate meaning of the phenomena that they have observed and the laws that they have formulated. They have speculated about God and immortality. Have their

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opinions on these ultra-scientific problems tended to support the assertion or assumption that the *scientists* are irreligious?

The great majority of the ablest and most authoritative men of science have found no inconsistency between their scientific opinions and the principles of orthodox religion. Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, Galvani, Volta, Ampère, Cuvier, Pasteur, Herschell, Maxwell, Dana, Lossen, Mendel, Saint-Hilaire, Romanes, Kelvin, Virchow, Wallace, Wundt, Lodge, and a host of others, were or are believers in God and in the theistic interpretation of the universe. Among scientists of the first rank, that is, the men who have made important discoveries and enlarged the bounds of human knowledge, the deniers of God constitute an extremely small minority. Mr. Hillquit will find these statements supported by a great mass of positive and detailed evidence in a book recently published in London, entitled "Religious Belief of Scientists," by Arthur H. Tabrun.

There is not a country on the Continent in whose parliament the Socialists have shown themselves willing to allow the Church that measure of religious freedom which she enjoys in the United States.

To be sure, the *popularizers* of science, the men who have themselves investigated little and discovered nothing, have been in a considerable proportion unbelievers. Hence they have contrived to create the impression in the superficial and uncritical part of the reading public that religion and science are mutually opposed. But they are not scientists, nor are their irreligious speculations within the field of science.

Had my opponent merely declared that Socialist irreligion was due in great part to the general irreligion and skepticism of the last century and a half, he would have been on safe ground. A very large proportion of Socialists had adopted the views of the atheistic popularizers of science, and the opinions of other skeptical writers, before they became Socialists. Once within the movement, however, they found their previously acquired irreligion quite in harmony with Socialist philosophy. Hence the latter constitutes the main reason why the average Socialist can not be other than an agnostic or an atheist, so long as he remains in the Socialist movement.

SOCIALISM AND THE CHURCH

Mr. Hillquit admits that the relations between the average Socialist and the Church are "rather strained," but puts the blame for this entirely upon the latter. In the attempt to substantiate this contention, he pronounces a somewhat lengthy and virulent tirade against the Church.

I shall refrain from a formal reply. First, because the explanation of Socialist antagonism to the Church is sufficiently obvious in Socialist antagonism to religion. There is no need to look for an additional cause. Second, because Mr. Hillquit correctly stated the policy upon which we had agreed when he declared in his first paper that "the Catholic Church is not at issue in this debate." Third, because the space at my disposal is insufficient for an adequate reply to a series of assertions which cover nineteen centuries of history. Fourth, because such a reply would be in one sense useless, and in another sense superfluous. It would be useless as addressed to prejudiced persons, and to all persons who are satisfied with aprioristic history. It would be superfluous in the eyes of all those readers who try to get their historical views exclusively from a study of facts; for these will realize that of the thirty-five sentences in my opponent's attack, twenty-one are the direct reverse of the truth, twelve are a caricature of the truth, and only two are unadulterated truth.

SOCIALIST TOLERANCE

The instances which Mr. Hillquit cites from the history of the German parliament prove nothing more than that the Socialist party defended freedom of association in Germany. This was elementary prudence in a country in which their own associational liberty was constantly endangered by the government. It proves nothing with regard to the *general* attitude of the Socialist movement toward adequate and genuine religious freedom and religious toleration. "Separation of Church and State" and

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"absolute religious liberty" are beautiful shibboleths, but we desire to know just how they are interpreted by the Socialists before we accept them as guarantees of fundamental religious rights.

We know that they have been interpreted in the "Erfurt Program" as excluding the right to maintain religious private schools. (See Liebknecht's observations on this subject in the very paragraph in which he declares that Socialism is not concerned with religion: "Socialism: What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish," p. 58.) We know that they were interpreted by the Socialist groups in the French parliament as permitting active and militant assistance to the government in its work of despoiling the Church, driving out the religious congregations, and attempting to enslave the Church by the odious "law of associations." We know that there is not a country on the Continent in whose parliament the Socialists have shown themselves willing to allow the Church that measure of religious freedom which she enjoys in the United States.

THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION ABOUT SOCIALISM

Mr. Hillquit is quite right in assuming that good Catholics have no "misgivings about the fate of Christianity under a Socialist régime." Christianity has survived much greater perils. However, that is no reason for being indifferent to the oppression of Socialism. All good Americans know that we could subdue Mexico, but sensible Americans do not contemplate with complacency the prospect of a war with that country.

After all, the probable attitude of a Socialist régime toward religion and religious liberty is a question of quite minor importance. No such régime is going to be set up by any enlightened nation. What is of serious consequence is the fact that the Socialist movement of to-day is an active and far-reaching influence for the spread of irreligion among large sections of the population in many countries.

This is the phase of the situation which gives genuine concern to all friends of religion.

When I suggested that Socialism purge itself of its non-economic elements, I had no idea that the plan would prove acceptable to my opponent. My only object in offering it was to demonstrate the bad faith or the gross ignorance of those members of the party who assert that Socialism is a "purely economic system." Since Mr. Hillquit refuses to countenance the elimination of a single one of the philosophical, ethical, or religious doctrines and implications of the movement, he can not reasonably expect a discontinuance of opposition from the Church. The doctrines in question do not lose their pestiferous character merely because they are propagated in connection with Socialism.

SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY IRRECONCILABLE

Obviously the Church can not accept the "counter suggestion" made by my opponent at the close of his article. In the first place, she can not recede from positions which she does not occupy, such as "partnership with the rich," and opposition to social betterment. In the second place, the defense of religion and morality against attacks made under the guise of "political and class struggles" is a very important part of her legitimate spiritual functions.

From Mr. Hillquit's own pages, then, it is abundantly clear that Socialism and Christianity are irreconcilable. In the name of truth and honesty I thank him for this service.

No Socialist régime will be set up by any enlightened nation; but the Socialist movement of to-day is an active influence for the spread of irreligion among large sections of the population in many countries.

About the outcome of this irrepressible conflict, the Christian, at least the Catholic Christian, has no misgivings. If I may be pardoned for adapting the overworked forecast of Macaulay, I would say that the Church will be still flourishing when the last unregenerate Marxian shall lift his melancholy countenance from the dry and dusty volumes of "Das Kapital" to survey the wreck of the "dialectic method," "economic determinism," the "class struggle," "surplus value," and all the other stage properties of the tragedy-comedy called Socialism.

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ANSWER BY MR. HILLQUIT

ON ONE important point, at least, my opponent and I seem to be in perfect accord. We agree that there is little likelihood of a hearty understanding and active cooperation between the Socialist movement and the Catholic Church so long as both remain what they are. And this is practically all that Karl Kautsky says in the passage which I "neglected" to quote in my main article, and which my opponent has so triumphantly resuscitated in his rebuttal.

Dr. Ryan's efforts to explain away Father Dewe's views on the laws of historical development seem to me as unnecessary as they are unsuccessful. The distinguished Catholic divine accepts the theory of economic determinism without reserve or quibble, and says so as clearly and plainly as the English language can make it. Moreover, Dr. Dewe is more consistent in the acceptance of the theory than Dr. Ryan is in his opposition to it.

For, after all, why should a good Catholic consider the belief in economic determinism incompatible with the orthodox creed of his church? In the preceding instalment of this debate Dr. Ryan contended with much emphasis that the moral laws are "the rules of conduct which God necessarily lays down for the guidance of beings whom He has made after the human pattern, *just as physical laws are the rules by which He directs the non-rational universe.*" In other words, my opponent's contention is that God does not rule the universe from day to day by direct, arbitrary, and changing methods, but that He has laid down certain permanent and immutable rules which govern life and existence and which, when discovered, constitute the "laws" of science. If this theory be true, why does it exclude a divinely ordained and universally valid rule of social and historic development?

If the law of gravitation, discovered by Newton, is the rule by which God directs the movements of the planets; and the process of natural selection, discovered by Darwin, is the rule by which He directs biological development; why may not the law of economic determinism, discovered by Marx, be the rule by which He directs the course of social progress? If the purely mechanical conceptions of the operation of gravitation and natural selection leave room for the belief in a personal Creator and Ruler of the universe, why not the theory of economic determinism? It seems to me the distinction is quite arbitrary and illogical.

Nor is my opponent happier in the selection of his arguments to support the alleged harmony between modern science and dogmatic theology.

Dr. Ryan names twenty illustrious men of science, beginning with Copernicus and Galileo and ending with Wallace, Wundt, and Lodge, and claims that they "have found no inconsistency between their scientific opinions and the principles of *orthodox* religion." My opponent would find it a somewhat difficult task to prove that the religious opinions of any considerable number of the men named by him were "orthodox" within his own definition of that term. But assuming that they were, the fact would prove as little in favor of Dr. Ryan's contention as a list of irreligious scientists would disprove. The method of drawing general conclusions from specific instances often leads to curious results.

PERSECUTION OF SCIENTISTS BY THE CHURCH

Take the case of Alfred Russel Wallace. He was an eminent scientist and a believer in God. Dr. Ryan therefore considers his case one of those that go to prove the alleged harmony between science and religion. But Wallace was also an outspoken and enthusiastic Socialist. Would my opponent consider this fact as tending to prove that Socialism is both scientific and religious?

But the more serious flaw in the argument lies in its utter one-sidedness. To establish the alleged harmony between science and orthodox belief, it is not enough to show the inclinations of men of science toward religion; it is also necessary to prove a friendly attitude of the Church toward scientific truths and their discoverers and exponents. It takes two to make an agreement.

And here is where my opponent's difficulty becomes unsurmountable. The history of the Church is one of undying hostility to, and relentless persecution of, all scientific progress.

Nicholas Copernicus, who heads Dr. Ryan's list of religious scientists, made the

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great discovery that the earth revolves about the sun, in the early years of the sixteenth century. Yet his fear of theological persecution was so strong that for more than thirty years he did not dare to publish his discovery. His work on "The Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies" was printed in 1543, and a copy of the book was put into the hands of the great scientist as he lay on his deathbed. That the fears of Copernicus were well founded was amply demonstrated by subsequent events.

The history of the Church is one of undying hostility to, and relentless persecution of, all scientific progress. She meets every new advance in science with stern rebuke.

The first great popularizer of the Copernican system, the original thinker and philosopher, Giordano Bruno, was held in prison by the Roman inquisition for two years, and was burned at the stake as a heretic in 1600. Galileo Galilei, one of the most powerful minds of his time, who corroborated and perfected the discovery of Copernicus by telescopic observations, was harassed by clerical opposition in all his works. Twice he was summoned before the tribunal of the Roman inquisition, and in his seventieth year the feeble and broken-down savant, under threats of inquisitorial tortures, was forced upon his knees to publicly "abjure, curse and detest the heresy of the movement of the earth." Nor did the persecution of Galileo end with his death. The clergy did not permit his body to be buried in his family tomb or a monument to be erected in his memory. In 1616 the Church prohibited "all books which affirm the motion of the earth."

The works of Kepler, Descartes, Newton, and Saint-Hilaire were viciously attacked by the Church, and as late as the middle of the eighteenth century the great French naturalist, George Buffon, who was the first to lay a scientific foundation for modern geology, was compelled by the theological faculty of the Sorbonne to recant: "I abandon everything in my book respecting the formation of the earth, and generally all which may be contrary to the narrative of Moses."

When the epoch-making discoveries of Darwin were published they shared the fate of all earlier scientific achievements. Cardinal Manning voiced the sentiments of the Catholic Church when he characterized Darwinism as a "brutal philosophy, to wit, there is no God, and the ape is our Adam," just as Bishop Wilberforce spoke for the Protestant Church when he rejected the new theory as a "tendency to limit God's glory in creation." Pope Pius IX. emphatically condemned the Darwinian theory as a heretic "aberration."

When the compelling force of scientific truth ultimately broke down the thick walls of clerical opposition and the new discoveries established themselves definitely and ineradicably in the minds of men, the Church had to abandon the Canutian task of forcing the rising tide back into the river in each instance. In 1757 the decree "against the motion of the earth" was formally annulled by the papal court, and to-day even Darwinism is freed from the ban of the Church.

But the Church learns nothing from the past, and continues to meet every new advance in science with stern rebuke. If it is no more the "infidel" Copernican or Darwinian against whom it is arrayed, it is the "agnostic" and "materialistic" Marxian who is made the target of its attacks.

Dr. Ryan concludes his rejoinder with a clever paraphrase of a passage from Macaulay in which he predicts the triumphal survival of the Church and the speedy oblivion of the heresies of the Marxian philosophy. Such pious forecasts were made by my opponent's predecessors with reference to the heliocentric theory in the days of Copernicus, Bruno, and Galileo, and with reference to the theory of natural selection in the days of Darwin, Huxley, and Wallace. What assurance does he have that his joyous predictions about the fate of Marxian Socialism will be treated with greater respect by history, the court of last resort of all theories and movements?

In the April number, Dr. Ryan and Mr. Hillquit will each present a summary of his side of the debate, with his conclusions.

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SOCIALISM: *Promise or Menace?*

A Debate between
MORRIS HILLQUIT
and
JOHN AUGUSTINE RYAN, D·D·

Editor's Note.—This is the conclusion of the debate on Socialism.

Contrary to the scheme adopted for the earlier instalments of the debate, the contenders have not exchanged papers before publication; and each sums up what he has proved and disproved without knowing what the other claims to have proved and disproved.

Strange as it may seem, each has concluded that the other is wrong.

What do you think? Now that you have heard both sides, do you find Socialism a promise? Or a menace? Or neither?

We are eager to know what you think. We shall gladly pay for letters that we find available for publication.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
BY MORRIS HILLQUIT

THE main points of the debate between Dr. Ryan and myself have been fully disposed of in the preceding numbers of this magazine, and it would be quite unprofitable to re-open the discussion at this time. Our present task, as I see it, is merely to gather up some of the loose ends and to draw our conclusions.

Dr. Ryan has proved himself an opponent of exceptional erudition and skill, and I take great pleasure in expressing my sincere appreciation of the fair and courteous manner in which he has treated his side of the complex and contentious subject.

But in looking over the pages of the preceding instalments I can not help feeling that the erudition and broad-minded attitude of my opponent have been the main source of his weakness. In a debate against Socialism the conservative standpatter is placed in a position of advantage over the liberal critic. He stubbornly shuts his eyes to the conditions and tendencies of life around him; he stoutly maintains that everything is perfect in this, the best of all

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worlds, and that the call for change and improvement is nothing but the senseless cry of the demagogue. He flies in the face of all known facts, he is brutal and absurd; but he is nevertheless always logical from his premises.

The non-Socialist progressive, on the other hand, is more plausible but less consistent. He is bound to make concessions; he is bound to stop short of a complete admission, and he struggles vainly for a logical halting-place.

It was thus with my opponent.

To my indictment of the prevailing industrial order Dr. Ryan makes only a partial and half-hearted defense. He admits that the present industrial system is "in many of its elements *far, very far*, from satisfactory or *tolerable*" (the italics are mine); that modern society has failed "to take advantage of the available forces of improvement;" that "the position and livelihood of large sections of the working population are less secure under the existing arrangements" than in the past; that it is "largely true" that the present economic order pits producer against consumer, tenant against landlord, and worker against employer, and that our social order suffers from many other serious defects.

The only fault he finds with the formulation of my charges against present society is that they are "overstated." He contends that conditions are not "nearly so terrible" as they appear to me. Now it is of no consequence whether the admitted evil outgrowths of Capitalism are quite as "terrible" as they appear to me or merely "unsatisfactory and intolerable," as they seem to my opponent. Our individual feeling toward social misery counts for little. The all-important fact is that it exists, and the inevitable conclusion is that it must be eradicated.

Socialists discriminate carefully between true progressive measures and the numerous utopian and reactionary nostrums which falsely parade under the name of reform.

Dr. Ryan admits the fact and accepts the conclusion.

"That the majority of the wage-earners should, in a country as rich as America, possess no income-bearing property, have no ownership in the means of production, is a gross anomaly," he exclaims. "It is not normal, and it can not be permanent. No nation can endure as a nation predominantly of hired men."

My opponent urges that the existing social system be "greatly, even radically amended." So, of course, do the Socialists.

The ultimate remedy of Socialism is the abrogation of private ownership in the social tools of work. The Socialists would place the machinery of wealth production under the ownership and control of the community, to be operated by the entire working population for the good of society.

THE REMEDY

What is Dr. Ryan's supreme remedy?

He is not very explicit on that point, but several interesting hints are scattered throughout his discussion. Thus he admits the possibility of a situation which may force the Government "to some extent" to compete with the capitalists in the production of certain commodities. He contemplates an industrial system characterized by "the direct ownership of the greater part of the instruments of production by the workers themselves by such methods as copartnership schemes and cooperative societies," and he even conceives of a stage in social progress when "interest as we now have it will be for the most part abolished."

In the phrase "interest as we now have it," my opponent clearly intends to include all forms of workless income, whether commonly designated as interest or rent or profit. This is a long step toward the Socialist conception. But Dr. Ryan goes even farther when he asserts: "Until the majority of the wage-earners have become owners, at least in part, of the tools with which they work, the system of private capital will remain essentially unstable."

The "system of private capital" to which my opponent alludes is, of course, the present economic system, and the expressions "majority" and "at least in part" occurring in the significant statement were obviously inserted merely to palliate the force of the

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admission. These terms of limitation have no justification in logic or morals. If it is wrong to keep "the majority" of the workers without tools, how can it be right to leave a minority of them in that condition? If ownership of the tool is essential to the work and life of the laborer, why "in part" and not in whole?

If this surplusage be eliminated from Dr. Ryan's formula, it will read about as follows: "Until the wage-earners have become the owners of the tools with which they work, our economic system will remain unstable" or, stating the reverse of the proposition: "Our economic system will be stable only when the wage-earners become the owners of the tools with which they work"—which is good Socialism.

Modern Socialists do not anticipate a mechanical collapse of the present economic system and the spontaneous blossoming of a Socialist commonwealth upon its ruins.

THE METHODS

Apparently realizing that his objections to the ultimate aims of Socialism are not very cogent, my opponent concentrates his attack upon the methods of the Socialist movement. "The unrighteous and unearned incomes, and the insufficient distribution of productive property, can all be eliminated through measures of social reform," he asserts in one place, and again more emphatically: "We shall reach it [Dr. Ryan's social ideal] not by the futile way of Socialism, but along the solid road of social reform." Throughout the debate he assumes that Socialism is antagonistic to social reform, and again and again he assures us that "the present system is capable of improvement."

It never occurred to the Socialists to deny that the present system is capable of improvement and reform. On the contrary, they contend that it is badly in need of both. A "reform" is commonly defined as a change for the better; a "social reform" is an ameliorative change in social conditions; and a "radical social reform" is a thoroughgoing general change and improvement of social conditions. In this sense of the term Socialism itself may be defined as a movement for radical social reform.

Nor are the Socialists averse to social reform in the narrower meaning of the phrase, *i. e.*, as signifying measures of immediate and partial improvement. They support every measure calculated to better the present condition of the workers, or to promote social progress. But they discriminate carefully between true progressive measures and the numerous utopian and reactionary nostrums which falsely parade under the name of reform. Thus they refuse to grow enthusiastic over the futile and reactionary efforts of our Government to "demolish" the trusts and to restore the bygone days of general competition.

In this connection I can not allow to pass without challenge Dr. Ryan's assertion that "the German Socialists in the early years of their parliamentary activity opposed some very necessary social reforms." In the very early period of the German Socialist movement one or two Socialist representatives in parliament refused to take an active part in the constructive work of that body. That policy was soon changed, and for decades the Socialist deputies in the Reichstag have been among its most active and practical workers. At no time did they *oppose* any measure of true social reform.

Nor are my opponent's moral scruples against the aim and methods of Socialism as strong as some of his expressions would seem to indicate. He does not consider the present capitalist system a God-ordained or final order of society. On the contrary, he admits frankly and wisely that "if the day should ever come when private control of capital became detrimental to human welfare, the capitalists would no longer have a right to function as such."

It is my contention that the day has fully come. Dr. Ryan seems to think that it has not yet quite come. The difference is one of estimate and sentiment, not of principle.

And even on the methods of dispossessing the capitalist class "when the day should come," Dr. Ryan's notions are at bottom not so strongly opposed to the accepted Socialist views as he seems to think. Says he: "I do not mean to deny that confiscation is

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ever morally legitimate, for example, in some supreme national crisis when no other course is physically possible." "*Physically* possible" is, of course, only a figurative expression when applied to non-physical social conditions. What Dr. Ryan obviously means is that he would sanction confiscation only if such a grave measure were imperatively required for the welfare and self-preservation of the nation. Ultimately, then, he also would determine the question on the test of social expediency rather than abstract individual "morality."

But if Dr. Ryan's arguments against Socialism as a movement for economic reconstruction are characterized by concessions, his objections to Socialism on philosophic and religious grounds are often based on misapprehended conceptions of the Socialist program and beliefs.

SOCIALISM NOT MATERIALISTIC

Thus Dr. Ryan takes it for granted that Socialism is a materialistic philosophy. He refers to Marx and Engels, the founders of modern theoretic Socialism, as "out-and-out materialists," for whom "all that exists is matter."

The error has been committed by many eminent critics of Socialism before Dr. Ryan, and is due in no small part to the title originally chosen by Marx and Engels for the designation of their economic theory of historic development—the "materialistic conception of history." But that theory is not even remotely related to the doctrine of philosophic materialism or to any other philosophic system. The "materialist conception" or "economic interpretation" of history is a theory of social evolution, and nothing else. It does not attempt to deal with the nature or function of the human mind or with the ultimate questions of existence. Socialism as such is neither materialistic nor dualistic. It is not committed to any school of philosophy and still less does it seek to advance a philosophic system of its own.

Nor is the philosophy of Socialism tainted with the element of fatalism. Dr. Ryan is quite wrong when he asserts that to the Socialist "the social evolutionary process seems to be a huge and unrelenting mechanical movement which can not be checked by any mere action of human beings." Modern Socialists do not anticipate a mechanical collapse of the present economic system and the spontaneous blossoming of a Socialist commonwealth upon its ruins. When they predict the "inevitable" coming of Socialism, they have in view a reasonable need, not a blind categoric imperative. They see in the Socialist plan the most logical solution of our vexing social problems. They contend that the workers would benefit immensely by the introduction of a socialized system of industry, and that such a system could be realized if the bulk of the workers understood it, desired it, and were organized for its attainment.

The workers as yet do not fulfil these requirements. The Socialists realize this undeniable fact, and they bend every effort to enlighten, stimulate, and organize them, and to draw them into the Socialist movement. If they succeed in this task, their cause will be won; if they do not, their propaganda must fail. The Socialists expect to win because the economic and social developments of modern times favor their propaganda, and because they have already accomplished a substantial part of their task, but principally because they are thoroughly convinced of the justice and wisdom of their cause, and are prepared to work long, hard, and patiently for it. It is a case of determined resolution rather than blind fatalism.

And as a logical corollary from this statement it follows that the Socialist expectation of success is predicated not on a theory of progressive pauperization of the workers, but on the ever-growing improvement of their conditions.

Dr. Ryan seems to be displeased with my statement of this theory. He intimates that in some way I have come by it illegitimately, and that if I had a proper sense of duty I should have adhered to the theory of increasing misery. In support of his contention he quotes a somewhat debatable passage from Marx, written about fifty years ago.

I respectfully submit that my opponent here goes beyond his province. It is no more incumbent on him to correct my Socialism than it would be for me to set him straight on his theology. He must accept the issue as it is tendered to him and not change it to suit his convenience. Incidentally, it may be noted that Marx never held that the condition of the workers was one of absolute and increasing misery, and never acted on the assumption that a general pauperization of the workers must precede

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their ultimate emancipation. In his practical work he always laid strong emphasis on the importance of progressive improvement of the material conditions of the working class.

Nor did Karl Kautsky, as far as I know, ever hold or express different views on the subject. In the statement quoted by my opponent in the fourth article of this series, Kautsky asserts that the wage-workers are growing faster in number than the other economic classes, but not that they are generally growing poorer. In this he merely reiterates the fundamental Marxian view corroborated by each periodical census in every civilized country. There is no conflict between that statement and my views on the subject.

SOCIALISM NOT A UTOPIA

Another serious error which underlies my opponent's discussion is his obvious misconstruction of the phrase "Socialist State" as used by Socialists. "No Socialist régime is going to be 'set up' by any civilized nation," he assures us in one place, and throughout the debate he refers to the so-called "Socialist State" or "Socialist régime" as an entirely new and arbitrary social order, created of nothing but fancy and imposed on mankind in exchange for an old and discarded structure of society—something in the nature of a utopia transplanted from another planet or of the Kingdom of Heaven suddenly come to earth.

The Socialists have no such romantic conceptions. To them the "Socialist State" is nothing but a more advanced phase of modern civilization, or, to borrow a felicitous expression from my opponent, "the existing system radically amended." Amended by the elimination of industrial warfare and economic exploitation and by a relative equalization in the enjoyment of wealth and opportunities, but still a system of human beings as we know them to-day, with all their frailty and weakness, passions and ambitions—except with less incentive and fewer opportunities for evil doing.

To-day we can not see beyond Socialism, but when the Socialist program shall have been materialized, mankind will no doubt conceive newer and larger ideals.

The "Socialist State," thus understood, can not and will not be "set up," ready-made and full-fledged, one fine day in the more or less distant future. It has been slowly filtering into the present order during recent decades by countless avenues, and it continues the process of permeation at an ever accelerating pace. If the liberal economists and conservative statesmen of a century ago could observe our present political institutions and the wide social and economic functions of our government, they would probably pronounce the modern régime semi-Socialistic, and, comparing present conditions with the past, we might be justified in maintaining that we are already living at least in the outskirts of the "Socialist State."

The practical task of the Socialist movement is to accelerate this process of socialization, to give it intelligent direction, and to shape it on democratic lines.

SOCIALISM NOT FINAL

And just as the term "Socialist State" does not convey to the Socialist the notion of a sudden break, so likewise does it not imply the element of finality.

In one place in the debate Dr. Ryan, I don't know on what ground, accuses me of attempting to "set a limit to industrial evolution, namely, the Socialist State." Oddly enough he takes me to task in another place for lacking a fixed, immutable, eternal, and final standard of morality.

As a matter of fact, the Socialists do not consider any part of their program as final and valid for all times.

When we stand in the midst of an unobstructed plane we see the objects in front of us only up to the line of the horizon. The circle around which the sky and the land seem to meet encloses everything within our view. It is the limit of our visible universe. But we walk ahead and the horizon moves back. New vistas are opened to our eyes. Our world grows larger and ever larger, and never can we actually reach the seeming limit of our progress. And so it is with our industrial, social, ethical, and other ideals.

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They represent the limit of our present vision. So long as they exist they are our standards of perfection. By our approach to them we measure our progress, and when they are enlarged our demands on human progress increase correspondingly. To-day we can not see beyond Socialism, but when the Socialist program shall have been substantially materialized, mankind will no doubt conceive newer and larger ideals and strive for their attainment.

THE CHURCH AGAIN

In the first article of this series I expressed the hope that our debate would be held down strictly to a discussion of the merits or demerits of Socialism and would not be allowed to turn into an attack and defense of the Catholic Church. "The Socialists do not fight the Catholic Church," I observed, "unless forced to do so in self-defense."

The occasion for such self-defense arose when my opponent introduced the charge of alleged Socialist hostility to the Church. I denied any hostility of the Socialist movement toward the Church as a religious institution, but admitted that the majority of Socialists have little confidence in the Church as a social and political organization. To account for that attitude, I endeavored to show the aristocratic and reactionary character of the Church as at present constituted. My opponent rules out my charges somewhat peremptorily on the ground that they are not within the issues. "I shall refrain from a formal reply," says he, " * * * because Mr. Hillquit correctly stated the policy upon which we had agreed when he declared in his first paper that the Catholic Church is not an issue in this debate."

True, I made that statement. But I left the choice of weapons in our word-duel entirely to my opponent, and I expressly warned him that no matter into what channels his argument led, I should have "to meet him on his own ground." Dr. Ryan, having introduced the subject of the relations between the Church and Socialism, can not with propriety close the discussion on the ground that the Church is not in issue. He has made it an issue. The Church is not an issue only in the sense that it is inherently irrelevant to the subject of our debate, but not on the ground that it is above discussion or criticism. The Church is not infallible.

My opponent seems to take the ground that the Church is of superhuman origin and that its actions and policies are entirely uninfluenced by existing social conditions and struggles. He treats the attempts of Karl Kautsky and Achille Loria to account for the origin and growth of the Christian Church by economic factors as preposterous, and gravely asserts that all such theories are belied by "the authentic documents which describe the rise of Christianity."

As a matter of well-known fact, there are no authentic contemporaneous documents bearing on the rise of Christianity, but whatever might have been its origin and early history, it is undeniable that the Church to-day is maintained, fashioned, and directed by ordinary human agencies, *i. e.*, by mortals capable of errors and subject to human weaknesses and imperfections.

The Church has voluntarily assumed the character of a social institution. As such it is charged with certain public functions, and in the discharge of these functions it owes to the people an account of its stewardship. Dr. Ryan, therefore, does not dispose of the argument when he endeavors to spell out from my statements an admission of antagonism between Socialism and the Church, and thanks me for "this service" in the name of "truth and honesty."

If an active opposition between the Church and the Socialist movement be assumed, there still remains the vital question of right and wrong between the contending parties. Before the bar of the nations the Church is as much on trial as the Socialist movement, and ultimately both will be judged by their effect upon the welfare and progress of mankind.

In throwing the glove to the Socialist movement the Catholic Church has challenged an adversary of no mean caliber. Socialism is an international power, as is the Catholic Church itself. It represents not merely vast masses of people, tens of millions, but also a spiritual and cultural factor of revolutionizing influence. The Socialist movement is remaking the mentality and psychology of the working population and is giving to the world new ethical standards and social ideals. And it is a growing power.

The "numerous desertions from the organized Socialist movement" of which Dr. Ryan speaks, exist only in the imagination of the optimistic opponents of Socialism.

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In actual fact the history of the movement presents one steady and unbroken march of progress. Occasional setbacks naturally occur at all times and in all places, but they are always more than compensated by subsequent gains or by victories in other places. From the beginnings of modern Socialism to this day, not a year has passed without showing a solid and substantial growth of the movement as a whole.

If from this record of steady Socialist gains we turn to the standing modern complaint of most ministers of the gospel about the deserted pews, and observe their frantic and unavailing efforts to recapture the strayed flocks, we may here find new and wholesome food for reflection not only on the attitude of Socialism toward the Church, but also on that of the Church to Socialism and to all vital social problems and movements which agitate the minds of the men and women of this generation.

DR. RYAN'S CONCLUSIONS

BEFORE summing up the main issues of the debate, and stating the conclusions that seem to me to have been established, I desire to call attention to a few gratifying features of the discussion which are apparently beyond the reach of controversy.

In the first place, Mr. Hillquit and I have succeeded in demonstrating that it is possible for men to differ as widely as the poles and yet carry on a protracted argument with fairness and without bitterness, and conclude it with both self-respect and mutual respect unimpaired.

Second, we have on all substantial points agreed concerning the meaning and the doctrines of Socialism. Only those readers who have some knowledge of the average controversy on this subject can realize the tremendous importance and advantage of this agreement. It has enabled us to confine the discussion to positions and principles, instead of fighting over definitions, and to make things correspondingly satisfactory to the reader.

In the third place, we have formally and deliberately covered *all* the important phases of Socialism. We have considered it not merely as a scheme of politico-economic reconstruction, but as a living movement and as a system of fundamental principles. The movement has been exhibited as affecting many other departments of life and thought besides the economic sphere. The principles have been set forth as embracing a philosophy of history, of society, of life, of the universe. Owing to this fundamental and comprehensive discussion, the intelligent reader has obtained some idea of the larger aspects of Socialism, and some explanation of the hold which it takes on many of its followers. It professes to give them a complete theory of life and of reality.

In view of this thoroughgoing treatment of the subject, may we not hope to hear less frequently in the future than in the past the shallow and ignorant assertion that Socialism is merely an economic program?

THE SOCIALIST "INDICTMENT" OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM

In his rebuttal to my charge that his description of existing evils was grossly exaggerated, my opponent merely asserted that the reforms which I proposed were insufficient. For, he contended, they would leave the capitalist in possession of profits and interest, which could be abolished only through Socialism. In my answer to the rebuttal, I pointed out that to look to Socialism as the necessary, feasible, and final goal of industrial progress, was to rely not on facts but on faith.

Let me take this opportunity to say that I deplore the actual and removable evils of our social system quite as strongly as does Mr. Hillquit. I believe that two generations hence men will look back upon the greed, materialism, oppression of labor, and hideous contrasts between wealth and poverty which characterize our time, as essential barbarism. Nor am I enamoured with what has come to be known as the capitalist type. The attitude toward their fellows, the conception of their functions in society, and the general outlook on life prevailing among many of our rich men and women, constitute one of the most unlovely types of human psychology that have ever appeared in the select classes of any civilization.

Certain captains of industry seem to

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think that because the Church opposes Socialism, she has pronounced a benediction unqualified upon modern Capitalism. They would like to have her function as the moral policeman of plutocracy. They forget that the late Pope Leo XIII. went so far as to declare that "a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the laboring poor a yoke little better than slavery itself" (Encyclical, "On the Condition of Labor"). To represent the Church as the unquestioning upholder of Capitalism is to offer an insult to her genius, teaching, and traditions. One after another, the early Fathers of the Church denounced irresponsible use of wealth, and proclaimed the natural right of all men to live from the fruits of the earth, in terms which have caused them to be accused of communism. Indeed, as the Abbot Gasquet has observed, the traditional basis of property as taught by the Church is not individualism, but Christian collectivism ("Christian Democracy in Pre-Reformation Times," p. 8).

For well-nigh a thousand years the Church withstood all the forces and wiles of the Capitalism of those days by her prohibition of interest on loans. During the period of her greatest influence, the Middle Ages, the industrial arrangements that she inspired and fostered were not Capitalism and not the wage system, but an order in which the great majority of the workers virtually owned the land and actually owned the tools upon which and with which they labored (see Hilaire Belloc's "The Servile State").

And if her sway had not been interrupted by the social and religious disturbances of the sixteenth century, there is hardly a shadow of a reason for doubting that this wide diffusion of productive property would have been indefinitely extended and developed. The present system, in which the few own the bulk of the means of production while the many possess little beyond their labor power, would have been, humanly speaking, impossible.

To a Catholic who knows something of economic history, and something of the economic aspects of Catholic teaching, the attempt to chain the Church to the car of a plutocratic Capitalism is impudent and sickening.

"We all feel—and those few of us who have analyzed the matter not only feel but know—that the capitalist society . . . has reached its term. It is almost self-evident that it can not continue in the form which now three generations have known, and it is equally self-evident that some solution must be found for the increasing instability with which it has poisoned our lives" (Belloc, op. cit., p. 77).

The solution, I confidently believe, will be found along the lines that I have traced in my second paper. Subnormal conditions of life and labor must be abolished; excessive gains on privileged capital must be made impossible; and ways must be found through which the majority of the workers will gradually become owners, at least in part, of the instruments of production.

THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL STATE

It is clarifying to get from Mr. Hillquit the admission that, if ever the device seems expedient, the Socialists will not be troubled by moral scruples against the confiscation of capital. In all probability, however, this avowal will not help the cause that he represents.

Without restating the arguments for capitalist property rights, I wish to protest strongly against my opponent's misconception of my account of prescription. I said nothing on this subject to warrant his flippant picture of the three robbers who would acquire valid titles of ownership by the crude method of mutually exchanging their individual articles of plunder! I never said that ill-gotten capital could become legitimate through prescription *or* through possession by "innocent third parties." I did not use the latter phrase at all. When I spoke of "innocent individuals," I referred to those, and those only, who had already complied with the conditions of prescription. This means, as a rule, those who had in good faith been in possession of capital for such a long time that the wronged original owners had disappeared forever.

Is this title so very unreasonable?

Mr. Hillquit's denial that Socialism would take in taxes all the economic rent of moderately sized and small farms may or may not put him in the class of those members of the party in America who, as Walling intimates, are ready to compromise everything on this question for the sake of agricultural recruits. In any case, it puts him in opposition to all the other Socialist authorities,

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and to the general and fundamental Socialist proposal to abolish rent, profits, interest, and "workless" incomes generally.

To the fundamental and insoluble objection that Socialism must fail owing to its inability to provide adequate substitutes for the two most powerful springs of effort and efficiency, namely, the hope of reward and the fear of loss, my opponent's final answer is—Colonel Goethals. He hopes that Socialism would develop in "our industrial army conceptions of duty and honor" superior to those which actuate the officers of our military army.

In this superficial analogy he has ignored or overlooked at least four salient points.

First, a very large proportion of the army officers who have had charge of civil enterprises have not shown the same disinterestedness and efficiency as the man who built the Panama Canal. More than one of them have served terms in United States prisons for dishonesty and graft.

Second, a Socialist régime would have very few Panama Canals to provide the conditions of conspicuous honor and fame. Most of its directive tasks would be quite commonplace and inconspicuous.

In the third place, the "conceptions of duty and honor" possessed by military chieftains are the result of thousands of years of training and traditions. Does my opponent think that a Socialist régime could afford to wait that long for the development of similar qualities in the boards of managers, superintendents, and other members of the bureaucracy that would command its "industrial army"?

Finally, he seems to forget that Colonel Goethals organized and managed his canal-building operations on a military, not a democratic, basis. All intelligent opponents of Socialism agree with Schaeffle, in his "Impossibility of Social Democracy," that a Socialist régime would work if it were carried on under the principles of militarism. Does Mr. Hillquit's use of the phrase "industrial army" mean that he has in mind that kind of Socialism?

His statement that Colonel Goethals's salary is "less than that of many a successful commercial drummer," is a trifle misleading. While engaged in the task of building the Canal, Colonel Goethals received $15,000 a year, which is considerably in excess of his regular salary in the army, and which probably served to reinforce the higher motives by which he was actuated.

The higher motives do not seem to have been very effective in the case of the rank and file of the workers. After many unsuccessful attempts to obtain a working force on ordinary terms, and on liberal terms, the Canal Commission found itself compelled to pay a scale of wages and salaries twenty-five to one hundred per cent. higher than that prevailing in similar employments in the United States, and to add other special inducements, "until an established system was developed which contained perquisites and gratuities which in number and value far exceeded anything of the kind bestowed upon a working force elsewhere on the face of the globe" ("The Panama Gateway," by Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Secretary of the Isthmian Canal Commission, p. 263).

On the whole, my opponent's appeal to the example of Colonel Goethals and the Panama Canal is somewhat lacking in aptness and convincingness.

The ultimate fact of the controversy over the feasibility of industrial Socialism is that its adherents expect a mere socio-industrial mechanism to create in the human heart sentiments of honor, altruism, and public recognition infinitely greater than anything that is presented to us by experience. And the sole basis of their expectation is simple and unreasoning faith.

Socialists expect a mere socio-industrial mechanism to create in the human heart sentiments of honor and altruism infinitely greater than anything presented by experience.

Under the head of "Individual Liberty," my opponent informed us that Socialism would not fix wages and prices through an "independent and autocratic authority." I never said that it would. "Public authorities" and "legislative enactment" were the phrases that I used, and Mr. Hillquit apparently agrees with me in this; for he employs the latter phrase himself to describe the method of wage-fixing and price-fixing.

Earlier in this same article he seemed on the point of saying that the workers in each

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industry might, through their representatives, regulate wages and prices in each industry! Apparently his faith in the perfection of the workers faltered when he contemplated the possibility of the various industrial groups engaging in a grand competitive effort to see which could award itself the highest wages and charge its neighbors the highest prices.

His assertion that the general legislature would regulate wages and prices "with due regard to the interests of the consumer and worker," is, of course, mere faith and prophecy. It does not at all meet my criticism that the citizen would be deprived of that range of choice which he now has both as producer and as consumer; that the wages which he would receive, the prices which he would pay, and his entire economic life would be fixed, regulated, and determined by a single economic authority, the national legislature in national industries, and the municipal legislature in those industries managed by the municipality.

The Socialist carelessly exaggerates industrial evils, generalizes sweepingly from meager inductions, and easily brushes aside the most formidable difficulties.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM

The convinced Socialist remains rather indifferent to all the objections urged against the feasibility of his economic program. For his belief in it is not dependent upon considerations drawn from concrete facts or experience. He relies upon a theory of social evolution which assures him that the system is inevitable, and therefore that it *must* prove successful. And he calls this process of inference "scientific." Let us briefly recall the argument:

As Marx saw the matter, the forces of economic evolution were surely bringing about a narrow concentration of wealth and capital, the elimination of the middle classes, and the ever deeper impoverishment of the wage-earners. As things have actually happened, wealth is more widely diffused, capital has become concentrated only in manufactures, the middle classes have increased faster than the population, and the wage-earners are much better off than they were when Marx uttered his doleful prediction.

His forecast of a deadly class struggle which was to issue in Socialism was based quite as much upon a philosophical theory as upon a mistaken interpretation of economic facts and tendencies. From Hegel he had derived the theory that the driving force of all development is antagonism, and that all progress takes place through the conflict of contradictory elements and their reconciliation in a higher synthesis. Applying this assumption to the economic field, he concluded that the contradictory conditions of *social* production and *private* ownership of the means of production, must find their solution and reconciliation in social production and collective ownership.

Even those Socialists who are aware that Marx's prophecy has not been fulfilled, continue to use his unscientific method. The gap in their argument left by the absence of concrete fact they strive to fill up by a prophetical theory. The limited antagonism of interests which Mr. Hillquit finds between capitalists and laborers he forthwith converts into a class conflict that is inevitably eliminating the capitalist. He ignores the elementary fact that antagonism of interests is created in every group when two or more men desire a good that is limited in quantity.

Even under Socialism, the consumers of a commodity would desire to obtain it as cheaply as possible, while the producers would strive to sell it at the price which would bring them the greatest measure of remuneration. What Mr. Hillquit utterly fails to do, what he is required to do before he can claim to be scientific, is to prove that the difference of interests between capital and labor are of such a nature that they can not be satisfactorily composed by any other method than Socialism.

As I have intimated above, the Socialist's blind faith in the assumed processes of a materialist evolution makes him relatively indifferent to exact analysis, accurate inference, and the lessons of experience. He carelessly exaggerates industrial evils, generalizes sweepingly from meager inductions, and easily brushes aside the most

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formidable difficulties. And his faith is strongly reinforced by his emotional temperament. In the physical processes of the average Socialist, the place of reason seems to be largely usurped by feeling. Hence it is very doubtful whether any person whose mental constitution permits him to accept fully the Socialist philosophy is ever converted from the error of his ways by considerations drawn from mere facts.

SOCIALISM AND MORALITY

The theory that the moral law is essentially variable, that it is nothing more than the different moral codes adopted by various classes and ages, is obviously destructive of strictly *moral* convictions, and incompatible with a consciousness of true moral *obligation*. A code of law that has no deeper basis, no higher sanction, no more permanent character than the changing notions of men, can have no binding force in conscience. If the moral law be not an ordinance of God, or at least the categorical imperative of authoritative reason, how can it generate in any man conceptions of *duty?* Hence the general principle of Socialist ethics makes for moral anarchism. It points to the conclusion that no moral law exists beyond one's own will and caprice.

The doctrine that purely individual actions are not governed by the moral law, necessarily implies, as I have shown, that the individual has neither moral worth in himself nor moral duties toward himself; that his rational faculties are not intrinsically superior to his sense faculties; that a man has no more duties toward himself than has a pig; and that a life of the most degrading personal debauchery is quite as reasonable and laudable as a life of the noblest intellectual and moral activity.

Mr. Hillquit's only answer to these statements was that one might hold the physical and the intellectual functions in equal esteem without valuing the abuses of the former as highly as the proper and normal uses of the latter.

This is mere question-begging. By what test does he distinguish "normal uses" from "abuses"? Not by a moral test, for he denies that purely individual actions have moral quality. Nor by the test of general reasonableness; for if the physical and rational faculties are equally valuable, equally important, and equally authoritative, the individual may reasonably decide for himself to what extent he shall exercise either of them. Since the rational no more than the physical faculties have intrinsic worth, a man can be no more reasonably criticised for neglecting their development than for refusing to develop the capacities of a dog or a horse. Debauching exercise of the physical powers can be reasonably called an *abuse* only on the theory that they are intrinsically inferior and morally subordinate to the rational faculties, and are *instruments* for the welfare of a morally sacred personality.

Hence it is my opponent himself who executes the "logical somersault" on this point; just as he did when he inferred that because men have made grave mistakes in the application of the unchanging moral law, no such law exists; and when he spoke of an ever-progressing ethical ideal, and yet rejected the only possible measure of progress—a permanent moral law. He forgot that men make quite as great mistakes in applying the laws of medicine, education, jurisprudence, and other practical sciences; and that the mere lapse of time is not a sufficiently authoritative standard to warrant the conclusion that the ethical ideal of to-day is higher than that of the Vandals.

MARRIAGE UNDER SOCIALISM

My opponent contends that sex partnerships terminable at the will of either party (for they are to last only as long as their sole basis, *mutual* love, endures) may properly be called monogamous. I think he is wrong, but we shall not quarrel over definitions. The *institution* that he defends is the all-important thing.

My contention that his "love-unions" would last a much shorter time than the average marriage of to-day drew from him a more or less irrelevant statement concerning the alarming number of divorces in the United States. Inasmuch as the great majority of our divorces occur among the upper and middle classes, in which the woman was not obliged to marry for a livelihood, but possessed opportunities of "economic independence" at least equal to the average that would prevail under Socialism, they evidently refute rather than support the view of my opponent that marriages based upon love alone would "endure in undimmed and lifelong purity in a

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much larger number of cases than to-day."

That such a large proportion of adults are unmarried is a condition which I deplore and condemn quite as strongly as Mr. Hillquit. However, neither this fact nor the prevalence of illicit sexual intercourse has any relevancy to the question of the durability of "love-unions," or creates any probability that conjugal conditions would be better under Socialism. In so far as these evils are due to economic causes, they can be removed by measures of social reform; in so far as they are traceable to the lack of moral and religious training and convictions—and this is their principal cause—they can not be removed by any mere change in industrial arrangements. To assert that they will is merely to utter prophecy.

Purely prophetical also is the naive assurance of my opponent that all those features of industrial occupations which are physically or morally harmful to women, will somehow vanish under Socialism. For the most part these detrimental conditions are inherent in the very nature of industrial operations. They are not removable by legislation.

In his interpretation of the assumptions underlying my argument concerning the economic relations of woman, my opponent is not quite accurate. I do not assume that "all women are married," but that the great majority ought to be married. I do not assume that "all married women bear children," but that, with extremely rare exceptions, they all ought to bear children. I do not assume that "all married women bear children, and nurse them all the time," but that practically all married women require so much time for bearing, nursing, and rearing their offspring that they can not earn a livelihood outside the home. In proportion as any society fails to conform to these fundamental assumptions, it is morally injurious to woman herself, to the family, and to the race. Persons who honestly deny this statement are taking a superficial and short-sighted view of human nature and human experience.*

Mr. Hillquit refuses to say whether Socialists would have recourse to deeds of violence if they found these expedient. This is one of the cases in which "silence gives consent." No man of average intelligence will hesitate for a moment to conclude that if the Socialists regarded such conduct as morally wrong, they would be glad to proclaim the fact, and that, since they do not think it morally wrong, they would certainly employ it if it should appear to them advisable. La Monte undoubtedly states the attitude of all other Socialists when he intimates that they "recognize and praise as moral all conduct that tends to hasten the social revolution."

*On page 237, column 2, line 15, of the February issue of EVERYBODY'S, the word "sexual" is a misprint for "asexual."

MORALITY vs. SOCIAL EXPEDIENCY

My opponent seemed to think that he was scoring heavily when he cited my statement: "In the matter of social institutions, moral values and genuine expediency are in the long run identical." Apparently he regarded this as equivalent to the statement that whatever is socially expedient at any given time is morally good.

He was mistaken. My statement was restricted to social *institutions* and social *systems*. It did not comprise the whole range of expediency. It did not include all socially expedient *actions*. While I advocate certain social reforms as both expedient and right, I unconditionally reject certain means of attaining them which John Spargo conditionally approves: "setting the torch to a few buildings, or summary execution of a few members of the possessing class."

I condemn these actions because I believe that the individual has certain indestructible rights. Mr. Hillquit and Mr. Spargo, and Socialists generally, do not admit that the individual has any rights against the social organism, the State.

To put the difference between us in other and more general terms: In case of conflict or apparent conflict between the two, I make morality the test of social expediency, while my opponent would make social expediency the test of morality. The difference is fundamental and far-reaching.

Owing to the pernicious character of the general principle and the three particular doctrines of Socialist ethics, its ideal as announced by my opponent, namely, the happiness and welfare of the community and of all the component individuals, rests on very precarious grounds. When the moral law becomes merely a social convention, and is emptied of the concept of moral obligation; when the most debasing individual conduct

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is placed beyond the reach of moral denotation or condemnation; when marital relations are adjusted on the basis of selfish and temporary passion; and when the State becomes the supreme arbiter of right and wrong, justice and injustice—the ethical ideal just mentioned is not likely to be very generally or very deeply cultivated.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

In his reply to the charge that the Socialist movement is antagonistic to religion, Mr. Hillquit admitted that the relations between the average Socialist and the Church are "rather strained," and that the "majority of Socialists find it difficult if not impossible to reconcile their general philosophic views with the doctrines and practises of dogmatic religious creeds." He also refused to accept the suggestion that Socialism purge itself of its anti-religious elements by eliminating its teaching on philosophy, ethics, and religion. In substance, then, he conceded that Socialism as a living movement and system of thought is fundamentally and necessarily incompatible with any definite religious creed, whether Catholicism, Protestantism, or Judaism.

The first part of my opponent's surrebuttal on this subject is unnecessary; the second, irrelevant. In my rebuttal I had pointed out that Father Dewe's language could not be construed as an acceptance of economic determinism for the simple reason that it did not make economic factors the *ultimate* determinant of *all* social changes. Instead of meeting this point squarely, Mr. Hillquit ventured into the field of Catholic theology, and demanded to know why the theory of economic determinism might not properly be looked upon by a Catholic as "the rule by which God directs the course of social progress."

Neither the Catholic nor any other believer in the human soul can accept economic determinism, which attributes all social causality to economic and material factors.

The obviously simple answer is that the Catholic holds that God made the universe dualistic, not monistic. The world is not entirely material. It includes human souls, and these are original and independent sources of energy. They influence social changes and social conditions not as instrumental and secondary causes reflecting the energy of material forces, but as primary and original causes. Neither the Catholic nor any other believer in the human soul can accept economic determinism, which, as expounded by all orthodox Socialists from Engels to Hillquit, attributes all social causality to economic and material factors "in the last instance" (Engels).

My opponent contended that the harmony between religion and science could not be proved from specific instances of believing scientists. I never said that it could. I showed, in the first place, that between science as such and religion as such there can be no antagonism, since they deal with entirely different spheres of reality; and, in the second place, that the vast majority of the great scientists were religious believers. Apparently Mr. Hillquit did not care to controvert the first statement. Instead of attempting to refute the second, he shifted his ground, and declared that no harmony is possible so long as the Church opposes science!

His original contention was that science and the scientists were opposed to religion. At first he asserted that the irreligion of the average Socialist is neither greater nor less than the irreligion of "the average enlightened person who has been trained in the methods of contemporaneous thought and who accepts the conclusions of modern science." He wanted to get the Socialists into good company. In his surrebuttal he abandoned the attempt, leaving his brethren naked, so far as the cloak of science is concerned.

Although his assertion about the attitude of the Church toward science is irrelevant to this debate, I can not let it pass without a brief refutation.

In the first place, neither he nor any one else can prove that the Catholic Church has ever officially or semi-officially condemned a principle or conclusion of science which had already passed from the sphere of hypothesis to that of established fact.

In the second place, his representation of the historical events that he cites is

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grossly misleading. Copernicus deferred the publication of his discoveries from fear, not of "theological persecution," but of the "mathematicians," that is, the philosophers of his time. That this is the true explanation, we know from the letter in which he dedicated the work to Pope Paul III. Neither this pope nor any of the nine who followed him in the course of the next seventy-two years, interfered in the slightest with the discussion and spread of the new theories.

Galileo met with opposition from the authorities at Rome only when he was no longer content to put forth the heliocentric theory as a scientific hypothesis, but insisted on dogmatically proclaiming it as an established fact and interpreting the Scriptures accordingly. In other words, he got into trouble because he was too hasty, and because he went outside his province as a scientist. Thomas Henry Huxley, who can scarcely be accused of pro-religious bias, wrote to St. George Mivart, November 12, 1885:

"I gave some attention to the case of Galileo when I was in Italy, and I came to the conclusion that the Pope and the College of Cardinals had rather the best of it."

It is not accurate to say that Pope Pius IX. condemned the Darwinian theory as a "heretic aberration." In the first place, he never pronounced upon it officially; in the second place, his informal criticism of it (in a letter to a French physician) referred mainly to its denial of the Creator.

Original Darwinism excluded God from the universe, held that the human soul was evolved from matter, and regarded the entire cosmos as the product of chance, through natural selection and the survival of the fittest. Apparently Mr. Hillquit assumes that this discredited system of philosophical speculation is identical with the scientific theory of evolution. He does not seem to know that, with the exception of a few materialists like Haeckel, scientists of to-day reject many elements of original Darwinism.

The other historical assertions of my opponent are about as accurate as the three just criticised. Indeed, Socialist history is no more reliable than Socialist economics or Socialist science. It is antiquated, inaccurate, and confused. It is based not upon facts and first-hand authorities, but upon prejudice and popularizers. Mr. Hillquit has taken the historical perversions that he presents to us from Andrew D. White's "Warfare of Science With Theology." Despite its pretentious character and its array of references and foot-notes, this work is extremely misleading. It is fundamentally unscientific, because its spirit, as perceived on almost every page, is not the spirit of truth-seeking but of anti-religious bias.

One or two instances will give some notion of its unreliability. Dr. White intimates (and in this he is followed by Mr. Hillquit) that Giordano Bruno was burned at the stake because he propagated the theories of Copernicus; but the records of his trial show that he was executed on account of his peculiar theological opinions. He had previously been excommunicated by the Calvinists and the Lutherans. The account given by Dr. White of the Church's attitude toward interest-taking, and of its consequences, will seem little better than a caricature to any one who is acquainted with the authoritative works of economic historians, such as Professors Ashley and Cunningham.

There is, however, one unexceptionable statement in Mr. Hillquit's surrebuttal. He says that "there is little likelihood of a hearty understanding and active cooperation between the Socialist movement and the Catholic Church so long as both remain what they are." How could any man who knows and thinks expect anything else? On the one hand, the Socialists will not reject those philosophical, ethical, and religious doctrines which make their system vastly more than an economic theory and program. On the other hand, the Catholic Church sees quite clearly the presence, the extent, and the pernicious character of these non-economic elements in the Socialist system and the Socialist movement. As the guardian of faith and morals, she must unceasingly oppose an organization that propagates such false and destructive doctrines.

THE END

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